THE RECIPE BOOK AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF FEMALE DOMESTIC IDENTITY

A HISTORICAL INQUIRY

Cover figure: Sandra Carew, *Manuscript recipe book* (author photo).

Nina Carew

CRWNIN002

A dissertation submitted in *fulfillment* of the requirements for the award of the degree of

Master of Arts in Fine Art

Michaelis School of Fine Art

Faculty of the Humanities

University of Cape Town

2020

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: Nina Carew Date: 9 February 2020

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores how familiar objects such as the homely recipe book hold our affection and shape our personal worlds. It takes its inspiration from a body of literature that only recently has explored in detail our relationship to mundane objects, subjecting these objects – and our feelings about them – to a serious scrutiny. The thesis is concerned with a material culture that takes us into domestic space, and to the objects within it to which we attach importance.

Specifically, the inquiry explores the cultural *mores* surrounding the practice of cooking and writing food. It considers the interplay between *public* and *private*, *male* and *female, self* and *other* and the significance of the domestic space in each case. It asks how the culture of the recipe book helps shape female *domestic* identity, that is, the personae of women within the home, and as wives and mothers, as opposed to their public personae.

This thesis studies the (until-recently) under-researched yet broad field - previously regarded as both too trivial and too formulaic to merit study - of homely recipe books. It considers the large collection of historic manuscripts of this genre available at the National Library of South Africa, in particular the collection of Louis C Leipoldt, and it regards these as part of a continuum with my own mother's recipe book. An important leitmotif of the study is the evolution of the recipe book from manuscript to printed, and from single copy to mass-produced text. On the one hand using recipe books as historical sources for the study of food and material culture, this study is also concerned with the affective impact of these texts, and more specifically what they say about the individuals and societies that made them. A central theme of the study is the role played in women's lives by the collecting and archiving of recipes through hand-written texts.

My purpose is twofold: first, to bring these hidden histories to light, opening the kitchen door to the lives of ordinary women through their private writings; and second, to explore why the practice of writing food continues to be relevant into the present. I trace how homely recipe books are both exercises in personal authority as well as material traces of women's internal worlds and archives of the communities in which they exist.

This study ultimately sees the return of the personalised recipe book as a route back to a positive and affirming female domestic identity, through a practice which is both therapeutic and self-actualising and which, through the act of archiving, brings together both past and present.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincerest thanks go to all those who have guided me through what can only be described as a journey. I appreciate the contributions of Siona O'Connell, Fritha Langermann and Pippa Skotnes. I would not have been able to reach this final point in this journey without the excellent guidance of my supervisor, Anna Tietze. Her warm, supportive spirit strengthened me both academically and personally. Thank you for offering your valuable time, extensive knowledge and, above all, your kind nature to me. I will always cherish the lessons learnt under your leadership. Thank you to Tasneem Hartley for the continuous support throughout this process and Lyndall Cain for your friendship and editing assistance.

This inquiry would not have been possible without the manuscripts contained within. Many thanks are due to the Special Collections team at the National Library of South Africa, in particular Melanie Gysteyn and Laddy Mckenchnie. To my mother, the wonderfully kind and forthright woman that you are, thank you for keeping a recipe book, for documenting our family life and, especially, for all the fond moments we have shared in the kitchen over it. In addition, I must acknowledge all the manuscripts written by women that will remain unseen, hidden in plain sight. Their presence is felt here.

Lastly, to my wonderful family. Thank you for your unwavering support and love through this journey. I dedicate this to you.

LIST OF FIGURES

PREFACE

I grew up believing that objects had intrinsic value. I easily formed an attachment to them as things, believing my stuffed animals roamed freely in my bedroom while I slept. I defined certain phases of growth by the things I held close at that time, be it my favourite dress, bedtime book, set of colour pencils or Walkman[1]. You might have found me flipping through my family photo albums, nostalgically journeying through stories captured by the lens.

I grew up with the knowledge that objects connected me to, and helped me make sense of, the world and the people around me. I loved studying the things both my parents held dear. I would visit the private box stored on the upper shelf of my father's cupboard, looking onto the things he valued with such preciousness, with a deep knowledge of the spirit of things[2]. Similarly, I would look through my mother's jewellery box, at the slivers of silver and gold which seemed to have an aura about them. They offered me, as a child, a rich connection as I saw them as a part of her, to which my wearing of them made me feel at one. Each interaction with the things my parents held onto offered me comfort, comfort in the journey of understanding who they were and what they valued on a deeply personal level.

In 2015, I explored this embodied knowledge in my honours in curatorship research project "The Ordinary Archive of Extraordinary times". While the prime focus of my exhibition was photographs, an eleventh-hour inclusion of my mother's recipe book would prove more telling. I was taken aback by how evocative this artefact was to my exhibition goers. It appeared that, particularly women, were deeply drawn to this book on display; to its materiality, smell and unequivocal resonance to a similar kind of evocative object: to their own familial practice of recipe writing. It was here that I became aware of the greater network in which recipe books function within, as the 'spirit of the thing' seemed to be present. It appeared the highly sentimental feeling I had for this book was not unique, but rather part of a much broader female experience.

I used this experience to propel me into understanding, more broadly, how recipe books function. This new-found awareness brought forth many questions: what extensive network does my mother's recipe book exist within? How do recipe books function over and above, their purely 'functional' role? What do they do for us emotionally?

[1] Or, more recently, my mother's recipe book

[2] Cohen, L. 1997. *Glass, Paper, Beans: Revelations on the Nature and Value of Ordinary Things*: 204-5

INTRODUCTION

The evocative nature of the homely recipe book led me into a space where I was fascinated with understanding the role personal objects play in our everyday lives. How familiar things drive our routines, hold our affections and shape our worlds. This took me into a body of literature that, only recently, has explored in detail our relationship to mundane objects, subjecting these objects—and our feelings about them—to a serious scrutiny that they hadn't received before.

Much of this literature concerning material culture takes us into domestic space, and to the objects within it to which we attach importance. Rather unprecedented at the time, psychologists Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton published *The Meaning of Things, Domestic Symbols and the Self* in 1981*,* a study of the significance of material possessions in contemporary life. It primarily focused on the way people carve meaning out of their domestic environment by the things they keep. This lay the groundwork for literary and cultural theorist Bill Brown[1] and anthropologists like Daniel Miller[2] and Sherry Turkle[3] to explore the complex connections between objects and people, specifically the emotional and intellectual connections people make with everyday things. Brown's critical inquiry sees that as things "circulate through our lives, we look through objects —to see what they disclose about history, society, nature, or culture — above all, what they disclose about us"[4]. Similarly, Miller explores how objects play a vital role in the various ways in which identity, relationships and values come to be expressed through the comfort of homely things. Turkle investigates the evocative nature of objects as emotional and intellectual companions that anchor memory, sustain relationships and provoke new ideas. However, Turkle states that we are on less familiar ground when considering the inseparability of thought and feeling in our relationship to things: that we "think with the objects we love, we love the objects we think with"[5].

This literature, amongst others[6], revealed the psychological significance of how people express themselves through their possessions, and how significant the space in which these expressions take place is. The strong correlation between the domestic sphere and its

[1]Brown, B. 1996. *Material Unconscious.* Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.; 2004. *Things: A Critical Inquiry book series*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

[2]Miller, D. 2008. *The Comfort of Things.* London: Polity

[3]Turkle, S. 2007. *Evocative Objects: Things we Think With.* Massachusetts: MIT Press

[4]Brown, B. 2004: 4

[5]Turkle, S. 2007:5

[6]Two theoretical perspectives are important here (the psychological avenue by the likes of Winnicott and Freud and the new material studies presented in anthologies like Candlin & Guins). The Freudian psychoanalytic perspective— in its narrative of how we make objects part of ourselves — offers a language for interpreting the intensity of our connections to the world of things (Turkle, S. 2007:7). Winnicott writes that the transitional object mediates between the child's sense of connection to the body of the mother and a growing recognition that he or she is a separate being (See Winnicott, D. 1953. *Transitional Objects and Transitional Phenomena – A study of the First Not-Me)*. The latter theory, on the material view, is explored in detail in chapter 5 through Candlin & Guins (Eds). 2009. *The Object Reader.*; and David Sutton & Michael Hernandez' article: 'Voices in the kitchen: Cooking Tools as Inalienable Possessions

historical roots as a private space—one which offers solace and remains out of the world's view — needed to be subjected to scrutiny too. From this psychological viewpoint — one which considers objects as companions to our emotional lives[7], as almost extensions of ourselves, or as mediators between self and other — the closer this companionship the more we tend to overlook its function and significance. Moreover, the code of the domestic as private means that the "objects we think with" as companions and mediators – such as the humble recipe book – remain unseen, under interrogated and undervalued on a broader cultural level.

With this in mind, the recipe book has, historically, been seen as too humble a literary form to be deserving of scholarly attention[8]. With attitudes towards the domestic space and sources changing, important new studies in this area have emerged. Specifically, a key interest for me about this mundane object has, certainly since the nineteenth century, that it features largely in many women's lives. Recipe manuscripts, then, offer us an opportunity to study history from a female perspective. This dissertation looks at the humble recipe book and its place within the life of the home —the kitchen and beyond— as a way to shine light on, and affirm the value of such humble things.

In doing so, it considers the main inhabitants of the domestic space and users of the recipe book—women — and asks how the culture of the recipe book helps shape female *domestic* identity. By this I mean, the personae of women within the home, and as wives and mothers, as opposed to their public or professional personae. It is here that my thesis offers crucial insight, as up until very recently, recipes and the discourse they reflect has been overlooked both as a cultural text and for their important functional role for the female domestic identity. However, theorists like Susan Leonardi, Janet Theophano, Janet Floyd, Laurel Foster, Diane Tye and Madeline Shanahan have in recent years contributed vitally to this research. In a modest way, so too has my mother, and the countless other women who have affirmed the recipe book's importance by simply writing and crafting a collection for themselves.

At the onset, however, I trace the earlier, pre-eighteenth-century history, when its role as shaper of the female identity was not so clearly articulated[9]. An important leitmotif of the study is the evolution of the recipe book from manuscript[10] to printed book, from a single-copy to mass-produced text. With the move to mass production, cookbooks[11] began to offer one standardised message to the masses, homogenising the female audience and the expectations of each reader. In this way, the recipe texts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries progressively became less self-authored and more prescriptive, bringing forth

[7]Turkle, S. 2007:5

[8]Shanahan, 2015: 14. A shared perspective with: Theophano (2003), Fleitz (2010), Tye (2010), Pennell (2017), Floyd & Foster, and others.

[9]Early receipt books documented the sacred and profane accounts of daily life rather than prescribing a female domestic identity, which we come to see in later years.

[10]By the term *manuscript* I am referring to books that are either entirely handwritten or made up by clippings and put together by hand. I also make use the term recipe book with the same meaning (single-copy text) and in chapter one, I use the term *receipt book* as it was the colloquial term at the time.

[11]By the term *cookbook* I am referring to mass-produced recipe texts.

questions of authority in the determinants of the female domestic identity. So, while these sources can be read in terms of their rich food history and material culture, I am ultimately concerned with the affective impact these texts have had on their readers, specifically how they speak to the ideological underpinnings of the individuals and societies who made them.

In tracing the evolution of the recipe book, I consider how it is re-emerging as a manuscript text in the contemporary period, with the current fashion for hand-written and personalized recipe books to mark significant occasions in women's lives, most particularly marriage. My purpose is twofold: first, to bring these hidden histories to light, opening the kitchen door into the lives of ordinary women who would otherwise be unknown to us; and second, to provide a possible answer to the question of why women are returning to such evocative companions and what it says about the culture of women grappling with their identities today.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Early on, I was astounded by the plight of literature which indicated that, in the past, recipes have been regarded as both too trivial and too formulaic to merit study[12]. It felt counter-intuitive, a feeling rooted in my own relationship to my mother's recipe book. I became drawn to the authors who saw how recipe books functioned beyond the list of rules and measurements, how they hinted at the values and desires of their authors and the communities they lived in[13]. Female writers like Susan Leonardi (1989), Elizabeth Fleitz (2010) and Janet Theophano (2003) added much to this perspective by seeing recipe texts as representative of something larger than food. These authors hold the belief that, seen through the lens of an autobiographical text, the crafting of one's own recipe collection has presented opportunities for many women to author their world around them, script a self, archive family life, mourn a lost loved one or memorialize a vanished place.

They too see that the practice is embedded in tradition. Existing within a vast network of reciprocal giving and receiving — from which the word recipe originates[14] — and as a connection to the past, to memory, speaks to recipe books' desirability. Some of their research findings have come to see that the sharing of recipes — through bequests and community engagement — is significant for women themselves as they assert and confirm women's domestic identity from within and create a legacy to be remembered by. Cultural theorists Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer discuss artefacts such as these in *Testimonial Objects* (2006) calling on us to consider what is crucial about how the past comes down to us and about how gender figures in acts of memory and transmission within the home. From this point of view, collecting recipes testifies to women's desire to preserve something

[12]Tye, 2010. *Recipe Baking as Biography: A Life Story in Recipes*: 36. For those with a shared perspective, see footnote 11.

[13]Frietz, 2010: 1

[14]Susan Leonardi's pinnacle text *Recipes for Reading* (1989) discusses that recipe and receipt derive from *recipere,* the Latin verb meaning "to receive or take", indicating that in order to receive, there must be a willing contributor, and a mutual sharing. It has contributed to and shaped many perspectives in this field of study. This is discussed at length in chapters one and five.

of her past, and when bequeathed from mother to daughter, the recipes embody and perpetuate women's cultural traditions and practices.

This showed me how central the theme of lineage and legacy is in understanding how recipe books came to be. One of the earliest works I read, that fascinated me, was the work of Elaine Leong. In her insightful paper she discusses how, in contrast to popular belief, early manuscript recipe books were created by family collectives and were not exclusively female endeavours. Her examination of seventeenth century 'receipt' books offer critical insight into the recipe books primary function as a repository of household practical knowledge and as a family archive. Andrea Broomfield eloquently lays out the spatial, geographical and temporal climate of pre-eighteenth-century England that the Leipoldt collection[15] (and others) fit into. Her work, along with that of Madeline Shanahan who writes extensively on early Irish receipt books as archaeological artefacts, brings necessary social and cultural context to the practical needs of the authors and cooks themselves.

As the formative traits of the practice began to emerge[16], I was confronted by the role print culture played in shaping the evolution of the recipe book. I thought of my mother's book that I knew and loved, of how it resembled and differed from the older National Library manuscripts due to print culture's effects[17]. In order to understand such changes, I needed to embark into literature that would help frame how such strong notions of public and private life where formed, and how gender and material culture related to both of these. Adrian Forty's *Objects of Desire* and Deborah Cohen's *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions* were invaluable, whereas Bill Bryson's *A short History of Private life* seemed to hold too many historical inaccuracies to be reliable. Forty and Cohen (and others)[18] discuss the significance of the nineteenth century as the culminating time for ideas on masculinity, femininity and domesticity. Forty approaches these themes through the avenue of designed objects, which made such fictitious truths tangible. Cohen debunks the resulting gendered assumptions that the home has always been a women's sphere, detailing the times where men fretted over the appearance of the mantelpiece. Importantly, she notes that "the making of why women were identified with the domestic…is a crucial episode in the making of the modern gender stereotype"[19]. Furthermore, cultural theorist Appelbaum discusses the transformation of recipe collections into cookbooks, in a recognisably modern sense,

[15]Louis C Leipoldt (1880-1945) was an established South African Doctor, writer, botanist and culinary enthusiast from the then Cape Colony (now known as the Western Cape). He continues to a prominent public figure in South African history for his contributions. With such broad interests, his personal writings and private collections - which were donated to the National Library of South Africa after his death – add much to our cultural heritage.

[16]Pre-nineteenth century receipt books, for the most part, contained more medical receipts than culinary ones. Recipes were also written in narrative form and with imprecise ways of determining qualities.

[17]Looking at the manipulations to the practice, Appelbaum's Rhetoric and Epistemology in Early Printed Recipe Collections (2003), Johns' The nature of the book: Print and knowledge in the making (1998) and Bornstein's *Material Modernism: the politics of the page* (2001) were incredibly helpful resources.

[18]Along with Forty and Cohen, Sennett's *The fall of public man* (1977) was an important resource for understanding the cultural division and gendering of space into public and private, masculine and feminine (respectively) shaped the behaviour of men and women in each space. Additionally, *Ferree's Beyond separate spheres: Feminism and family research* (1990) and Zlotnick's Domesticating Imperialism: Curry and cookbooks in Victorian England (1996) were helpful too.

[19]Cohen, D. 2006: xvi

and how this is part of the history of the practice. By no means the only transformation the practice would undergo, it does, however, mark the crystallization of recipes into a solid generic form. Additionally, this adds to the discussion of how the mass-produced printed recipe book disseminated and linked notions of femininity and domesticity.

In the last months of writing, I stumbled across one of the most useful and succinctly packaged resources for this thesis. Edited by Janet Floyd and Laurel Forster, *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Contexts and Traditions* (2010) is a collection of twelve essays by some of the leading contributors in the field of this inquiry. Although I was already familiar with the essays by Margaret Beetham[20] and Susan Zlotnick, various insightful anecdotes from the editor's chapter[21] and the other essays made their way into the revision of my chapters. More importantly, Floyd and Forster's collection adds to the central theme of understanding the female domestic personae, seeing that "recipes…evoke the elaborate scene of home, and the contentious arena of domestic politics and family values"[22].

In the spirit of this inquiry, I began to study numerous manuscript and printed cookery books from South Africa, England and the United States to form my own educated opinion. I found that the National Library of South Africa housed a vast collection of English, Dutch, German, Afrikaans (including Arabic-Afrikaans) manuscript recipe books, and a small vernacular collection. One archive that was particularly enriching was that of Afrikaans doctor and poet Louis C Leipoldt. In this thesis, Leipoldt is interesting to me for his own personal writings as well as the international collection of historical archives that he bequeathed to the National Library. Specifically, Leipoldt's manuscript collection fascinatingly houses vellum bound English recipe books from as far back as the seventeenth century, written in England and brought across the oceans.

As archives like the National Library of South Africa document national heritage, so too does my mother's recipe book echo this as part of an archive of my family's personal history. In this sense, Leipoldt's collection serves as the South African umbrella example to that of my mother's collection as the micro one. At the same time, my mother has managed to preserve and take part in an ancient domestic tradition which, in itself, is worthy of merit. With this in mind, I quickly became aware that this thesis traces a colonial history, which can be somewhat problematic in a post-colonial setting. So, although rooted in an African context, my own culinary identity sees its roots in the United Kingdom, and is similar, in its trajectory, to that of the authors of Louis Leipoldt's recipe manuscript collection[23]. However,

---

[20]Beetham's essay, *Of Recipe Books and Reading in the Nineteenth Century: Mrs Beeton and her Cultural Consequences* (2010) from Floyd and Foster was incredibly useful for chapter two, along with another of her publication's: *Good Taste and Sweet Ordering: Dining with Mrs Beeton* (2008).

[21]Floyd &Forster's introductory chapter *The Recipe in its Cultural Context* added great value in laying the foundation in which this text has served the domestic woman: "from the quintessential embodiment of lifestyle choices to the reflection of artistic inspiration".

[22]Floyd & Foster, 2003: 1

[23]My lineage stems from an array of nineteenth century European settlers. My paternal ancestral origins lie in Italy, Wales and Ireland and my maternal line in England, Scotland and Austria. Within a history of immigrants comes a variety of intersecting tales. For instance, my paternal grandmother's grandparents brought the first tugboats to the Cape of Good Hope from Italy and another includes my paternal grandfather's line were on

I do rely on South African poet and academic Gabeba Baderoon[24] to offer a robust viewpoint on the effects of colonialism for people of colour in South Africa, and how this specifically relates to food culture.

Although the last decade has seen an intense and widespread interest in the writing and publishing of cookery books, surprisingly little contextualised analysis of the recipe as a generic form has appeared. Furthermore, much of the existing literature on the home and recipe books takes the focal point from the outside-in. In particular, the literature on recipe books is often primarily focused on printed books, related to public modes of knowledge production and how the home space is viewed externally. The choice to focus on the manuscript recipe book disarms the dynamic of dominant discourse (and the public sphere) as the starting point. By starting with the Leipoldt archive, I re-orientate the discussion to the original/grassroot network in which the book functions, whom its functions serves and the self-affirming value it holds within the space.

The study of the recipe manuscript introduces themes that follow the arc of the life cycle: it follows times of transition as an object representative of, and embedded in, female rites-of-passage, the navigation of connection and loss, trial and error and the confrontation with the "spirit of things"[25]. As Turkle states: "Life, of course, is not lived in discrete stages, nor are the relationships with objects that accompany its journey. Objects have life roles that are multiple and fluid"[26]. Just like the eclectic and compendium style of the recipe books construction, my methodological approach is vast, dispersed and has been based on inquisitive and unfolding methods.

My approach has been to investigate the manuscripts both as historical sources which can tell us a great deal about food and material culture at the time but also, as Shanahan states, "as archaeological objects whose materiality has both meaning and efficacy in the past"[27]. More importantly, as the nature of manuscript recipes book in the past had tended toward being labelled as subjectively evocative and rudimentary, each chapter adds a rich and significant layer to the shaping of this traditional practice.

What these reveals is that we come to value these humble material things by looking at them closely and by feeling them. These are intuitive and non-intellectual approaches to knowing and understanding. This proves an important theme toward the end of my thesis,

---

their way back to England from Australia, when a then heavily pregnant Myra Wilcox and her husband needed to settle in the Cape for delivery. Fun tales often retold in my family around the dining table.

[24] I relied on Gabeba Baderoon's essays: *Everybody's mother was a good cook: meanings of food in Muslim cooking* (2002), *Ambiguous Visibility: Islam and the Making of a South African Landscape* (2005), '*Catch with the eye': stories of Muslim food in Cape Town* (2007) and *The African Oceans—Tracing the Sea as Memory of Slavery in South African Literature and Culture* (2009). I also relied on the Masters thesis of Saarah Jappie, *From Madrasah to Museum: A biography of the Islamic Manuscripts of Cape Town* (2011) for a more reflective account of Cape Muslim history and culture.

[25] Cohen L. 1997. *Glass, Paper, Beans: Revelations on the Nature and Value of Ordinary Things.* 11

[26] Turkle, S. 2007: 7

[27] Shanahan. 2015: 5

assessing how the move beyond prescriptive ways of knowing makes room for more alternative and flexible modes.

In the spirit of Miller's work, I approach this research from the anthropological perspective of holism: "a feeling that, in many cases, there is an overall logic to the pattern of these relationships between persons and things — an aesthetic". Each chapter is aimed at adding a small piece to the whole, discussing the ways in which women and print culture have created this aesthetic.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Looking at the vast history of female writers and custodians, this thesis offers a historical survey of the homely recipe book and how, as an evocative object we may love, it can, too, be an object we can think with — or through — to understand the culture of female domestic identity. In doing so, this thesis asserts that the recipe in all its cultural and textual contexts is a complex, distinct, and important form of cultural expression.

Chapter one traces the historic lineage and legacy of recipe collecting. I depend heavily on the source material of the Louis C Leipoldt collection and theory by Elaine Leong and Janet Theophano to determine the formative traits of the practice. In doing so, I trace the paths in which receipt books changed hands as a means to understand who made use of the book. I highlight the significance of communal knowledge and narrative style of writing as important evidence of these texts as women's work.

In chapter two I look at the broad themes of domesticity and the appropriation of the recipe book by women. In the spirit of Forty's concept of designed objects, this chapter assesses how the recipe book was appropriated to be a tool in which the 'ideal' modern domestic female identity could be widely communicated. By focusing in on the nineteenth century, in particular on *Mrs Beeton Book of Household Management* (1861), we see how the recipe book mutated into print culture and lost touch with some of its formative traits. Chapter three looks at how this tendency grew in the twentieth century, with mass-produced cookbooks becoming increasingly prescriptive regarding women's domestic identity and duty. It tells the story of new freedoms and continued pressures to be the perfect wife and mother. The cookbook embodies these demands but is the voice of rebellion too.

Chapter four changes course, as it looks to the theme of the recipe book as evocative of the past. Focusing on my own cultural context, I primarily focus on the complex history of the Cape Colony as a space which is evocative of an unbalanced power dynamic in which the colonial kitchen mediated this experience. Through tracing the history of *Cape Malay* cuisine, and the written records of such, this chapter draws on the theme of national heritage and personal inheritance.

In chapter five, I continue the theme of lineage legacy and the role of memory as I undertake an object study of my mother's recipe book. In a sense, she is the Leipoldt of my own life. Through the lens of Theophano's *domestic diary,* I trace how contemporary manuscript texts are both exercises in personal authority as well as speaking to the internal

worlds of women's domestic personae. In doing so, the text can be read as an exercise in resisting external pressures posed by print cookbook culture. It is here that I consider the visual and material component of the recipe book as much as I do the content. In my conclusion I reflect on the phenomenon of the female celebrity chef Nigella Lawson and what underlies her tremendous emotional power. I discuss her as an almost public figure of the manuscript, a voice that reclaims the practice of writing and cooking as therapeutic and life-affirming for the cook *herself.*

Each of these chapters could be viewed as *portraits* of the recipe book. There are many women behind these collections, histories that differ greatly and concepts of womanhood that vary too. Just like a portrait, it is an interpretation of the real. It is my interpretation; one I can acknowledge may not encompass a full picture. Furthermore, considering each chapter as a self-portrait allows me to pay proper respect to the female authors, including my maternal line, who crafted their recipe books as patiently as an artist, as an outward expression of themselves.

CHAPTER ONE

LINEAGE AND LEGACY: THE ANCESTRAL ROOTS OF THE HUMBLE HOME RECIPE BOOK

My research into the ancestral roots of the humble home recipe book began at the National Library of South Africa. Located in the historic Company's Garden, the Special Collections unit of the NLSA houses an eclectic collection of manuscript recipe collections from African, Afrikaans, English, Dutch, German, French, Italian and Portuguese origin. The diversity of the collection speaks to the rich history of settler-culture of southern Africa, which began in the sixteenth century. Settlers brought the trappings of their culture with them to foreign lands. Recipe books and household manuals were a part of this. It appears that in literate, well-to-do households, families brought their recipe books and household manuals with as they crossed the oceans to new foreign lands.

Unaware at the time of the wealth of knowledge I was entering into, I spent weeks engrossed in the pages of historic recipe books. I became fascinated by the literal 'import' of cultural documents; how collections were written in the *motherland* in mother tongue and brought along to a new home. The collection acquired by the National Library of South Africa is invaluable in understanding the rich legacy of and intersections of indigenous and settler-culture in South Africa.

The collection of South African doctor, writer, culinary enthusiast and botanist—Louis C Leipoldt—was of particular interest. Although of Afrikaans heritage himself, Leipoldt kept a collection of close to twenty English manuscripts dating as far back as the seventeenth century. These manuscripts had no link to Leipoldt's family lineage, yet he took great care and pride in them. He rebound some collections in cream vellum covers, tagging them on their spine by original titles as well as marking them with L.C. for 'Leipoldt Collection'. Due to this, two neatly bound books—that of *Jane Gardner*[1] and *17th Century Ms Receipts*[2]—were initially rather deceptive. The stringent spine creaked and cracked when opened and I was introduced to the collection by plain crisp white paper. Three pages in, torn-chestnutty pages—so fine they were translucent when held to the light—welcomed me into the private lives of two seventeenth century families[3].

These two collections contained recipe books unlike any I'd seen before. Unbeknown to me at the start of this inquiry, the origins of recipe texts appear as some of the most revealing sources of home-based practices of natural knowledge. The bulk of these collections consisted of medical *remedyes* to be used for any number of things ranging from common ailments to extreme epidemic illnesses and cancers, for the treatment of a bullet wound to

[1] Leipoldt Recipe Book Collection. MSB837:3(3). *'Jane Gardner. Her Booke. 1650'.* Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

[2] Leipoldt Recipe Book Collection. MSB837:1(1). *17th Century MS Receipts.* Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

[3] Although housed in Cape Town, these manuscripts relate to a world and a time far away. South Africa only became an English Colony at the turn of the nineteenth century meaning such collections were written and used in an English context before the custodian voyaged to the Cape Colony and brought it with as a prized belonging.

labour pains, from constipation to *mellancollyes* (figure 1), even cures for blindness and cancer (figure 2). All in the form of *drinkes*, *salves*, *waters* and *oyles.* Interspersed among these medicinal recipes were culinary recipes for almonde tarts and quinche cakes, for preserving and candying fruit, for *polonye sausayges* and *collared beefe*. This introduced me to a pre-industrial world in which food and medicine were seen in the same light. Signalled by the use of the world *receipt* —these collections reflect how medical and culinary knowledge were viewed together as a practical guide to care for the self[4].

Beyond the conjunction of food-as-medicine, I came across practical knowledge useful for the running of early modern households: to *fattin sheep, directions for raising cucumbers in January, February or March* (figure 3)*, how to prune trees* and *to get rid of rats.* The compendium-like nature of these two seventeenth century collections suggest that their authors lived a life that was highly self-reliant. Social historian Andrea Broomfield notes that books like these reflect a time in which most English people lived in small towns or villages and were mostly self-sufficient[5]. Even those who lived in good sized towns often maintained large kitchen gardens or a garden allotment close to their home, keeping pigs and poultry[6]. It was common for people to make their own herbal medicines and much of their own food. They procured and preserved most of their fruits and meats and cooked them largely in the same way they had for centuries[7]; to which a recipe book filled with the practicalities of such would indeed be useful to more than one generation[8].

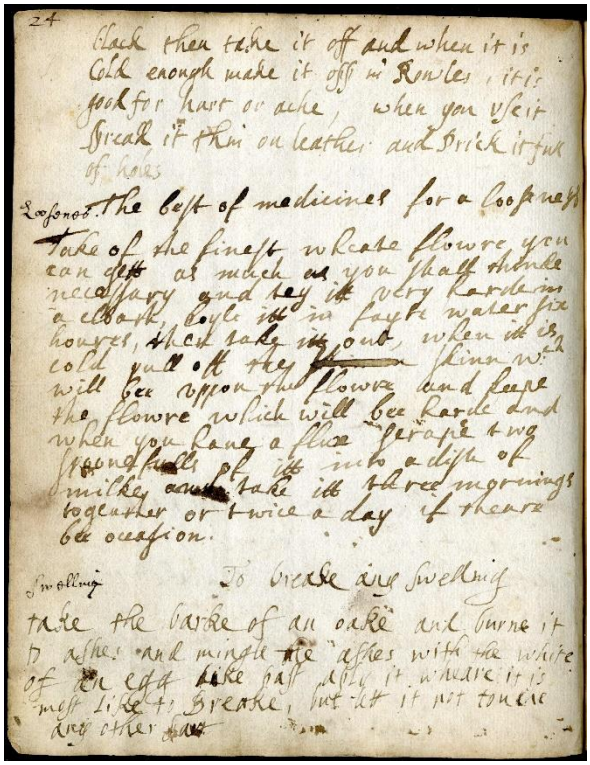
[4]This could also be linked to the fact that food (as well as medicine) had the capacity to nourish or kill you— in which tried and tested knowledge that previous generations had written about was highly valuable at the time. See articles by Sobal, *Social change and foodways* (1999); Brothwell & Brothwell. *Food in Antiquity: a survey of the Diet of early peoples* (1998) and Reinders, *Early Modern Women's Writing: Domesticity, Privacy, and the Public Sphere in England and the Dutch Republic* (2018).

[5] The array of content exemplified by the Index page 'B' In Jane Gardner's Booke supports this premise.

[6] Broomfield, 2007. *Food and Cooking in Victorian England*: 1; Broomfield, 2008: *Rushing Dinner to the table: The "Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine" and Industrialization's Effects on Middle-Class Food and Cooking*: 101-105.

[7] op.cit. 2007: 1-4

[8]Evidently these collections stayed in their families for a minimum of 150 years before they made their way across the ocean to a new land. Jane Gardner was by no means the only contributor and user, which instilled early on that recipe books are communal affairs. It brought forth further questions that I will never know the answers to: when did these families come to South Africa? When did they lose their vital link to internal (family) inheritance, to which they became part of Louis Leipoldt's personal collection?


24

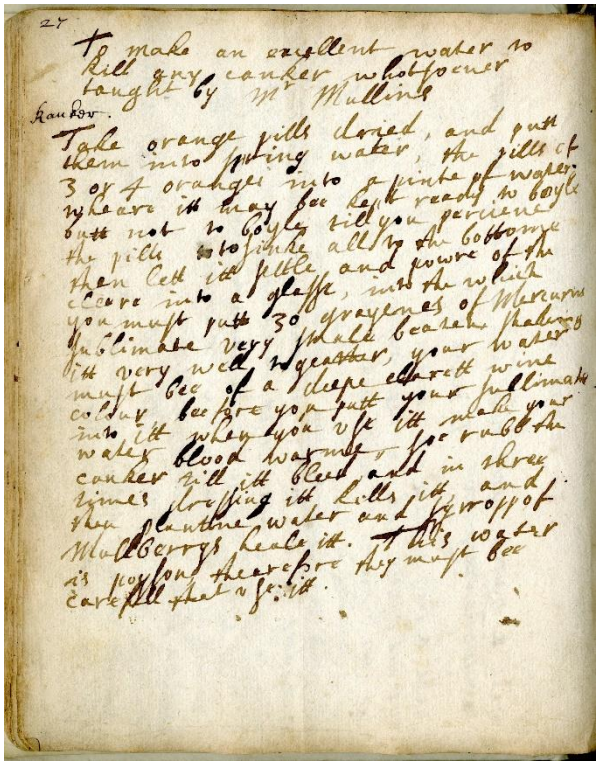
black then take it off and when it is
Cold enough make it off in Rowles, it is
good for hart or ache, when you use it
Streak it then on leather and Prick it full
of holes

Loosness. The best of medicines for a Loosness

Take of the finest wheate flowre you
can gett as much as you shall thinke
necessary and lay it very hard in
a elbark, boyle it in fayre water six
howres, then take it out, when it is
cold put it thy Linnen w^ch
will bee vppon the flowre and keepe
the flowre which will bee hard and
when you Come a Sluce
Strong fulls of it into a dish of
milke and take it three mornings
togeather or twice a day if there
bee occasion.

Swelling To breake any Swelling

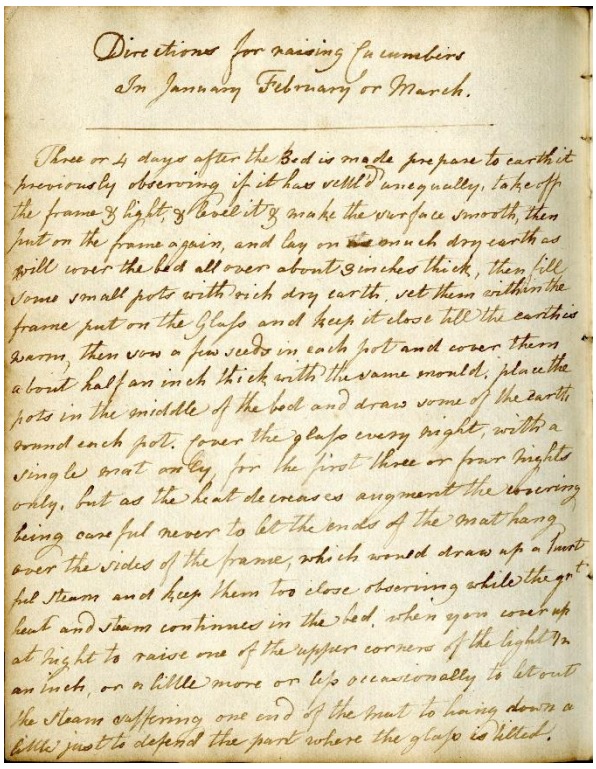
take the barke of an oake and burne it
to ashes and mingle the ashes with the white
of an egg take part apply it where it is
most Lickly to Breake, but let it not touche
any other part


27

To make an excellent water to
kill any cancer whatsoever
taught by M^r Mullins

Receipt.

Take orange pills dryed, and putt
them into spring water, the pills of
3 or 4 oranges into a pinte of water
where it may bee kept ready to boyle
putt not to boyle till you perceive
the pills to sinke all to the bottome
then Cutt it Jellie and powre of the
cleare into a glasse, into the which
you must putt 30 graynes of Mercurius
Sublimate very finely beaten shaking
it very well together, your water
must bee of a deepe claret wine
colour before you putt your sullimate
into it when you use it make your
water blood warme & you rub the
canker till it bleed and in three
times dressing it kills it and
then Lenitive water and a drop of
Mull Berrys heale it. This water
is poyson therefore they must bee
Carefull that use it.


Directions for raising Cucumbers
in January February or March.

Three or 4 days after the Bed is made prepare to earth it
previously observing if it has settled unequally, take off
the frame & light, & level it by make the surface smooth, then
put on the frame again, and lay on so much dry earth as
will cover the bed all over about 3 inches thick, then fill
some small pots with rich dry earth, set them within the
frame put on the Glass and keep it close till the earth is
warm, then sow a few seeds in each pot and cover them
about half an inch thick with the same mould, place the
pots in the middle of the bed and draw some of the earth
round each pot. cover the glass every night with a
single mat only, for the first three or four nights
only, but as the heat decreases augment the covering
being careful never to let the ends of the mat hang
over the sides of the frame, which would draw up a hurt
full Steam and keep them too close observing while the great
heat and steam continues in the bed. when you cover up
at night to raise one of the upper corners of the light to
an inch, or a little more or less occasionally to let out
the Steam supporting one end of the mat to hang down a
little just to defend the part where the glass is lifted.

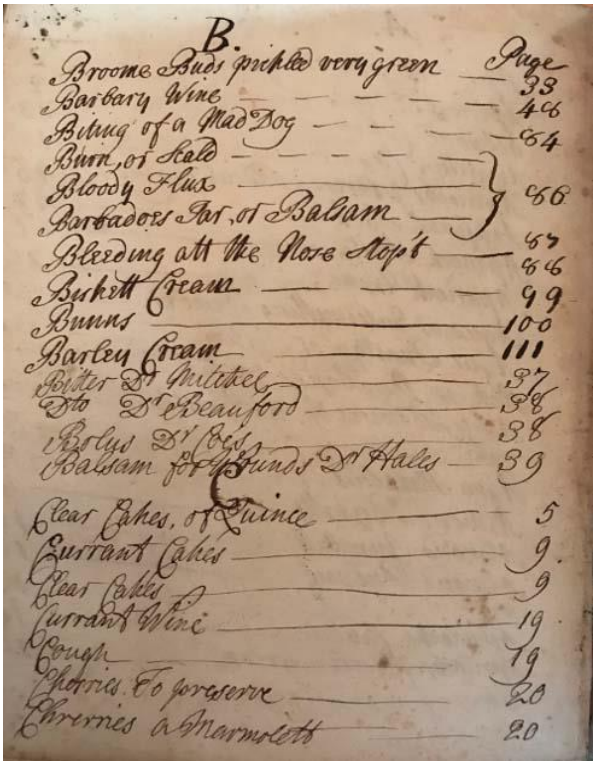

B.

Figure 1: The belt of Medicines for aloofness

Figure 2: To make an excellent water to kill any cancer whatsoever

Figure 3: Directions for raising cucumbers in January February or March

Figure 4: Index page 'B' of Gardner's book

Spending time immersed in each book was a private, intimate experience. Another intriguing feature of these two collections was the style in which they were written. Some recipes were well-quilled while others were thick and illegible, some covered two whole pages like a diary entry while others were two lines long crammed in a corner. Most follow a generic orientation; others are written upside down or in landscape mode. In one such instance, *17th Century Ms Receipts* holds six receipts for *ague*—to which all are inscribed in either a different handwriting, spelling or title. Often recipes featured a side note in a darker ink, such as 'approved' whereas others were marked with an 'x'. Various other modifications and modernisations—such as the addition of page numbers and an index—revealed to me that recipe texts at their origins were collective enterprises.

These two recipes collections were so similar except for one telling detail, the fly-leaf. *17th Century Ms Receipts* left no family name (figure 5), no lineage to tie it to. On the contrary, the fly leaf page of the other read '*Jane Gardner, Her Booke, 1650'* (figure 6). I felt a sense of dissonance by what this presented: both collections evidently had the combined efforts of many people—yet one collection had lost its vital lineage and personal ties, while Gardner's sees the collective efforts of many people being solely claimed as '*her booke',* which seemed neither fair nor accurate either.

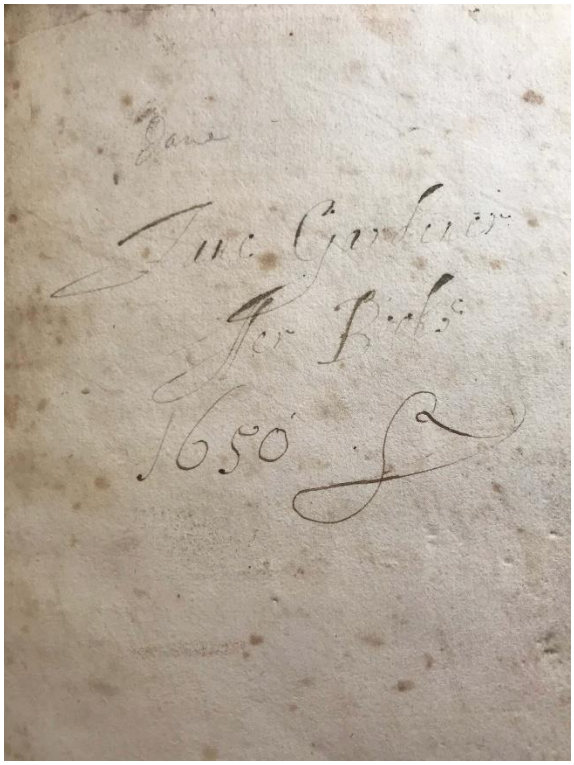


Figure 5: Jane Gardner flyleaf

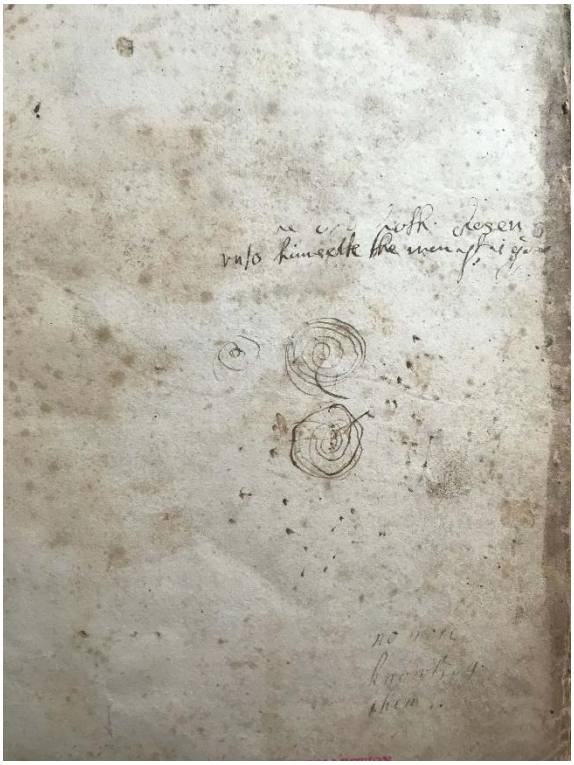


Figure 6: 17th Century Receipts cover

The presence and absence of ownership notes—along with the addition of medical recipes—left me with more questions than answers about the lineage and legacy of recipe collecting. Could Gardner's ownership note obscure rich and complex stories of authorship and ownership connected to these texts? While my research premise focuses on recipe books and their ties to female domestic experience, the anonymity of the one collection led

me to think, could I view historic texts like these through such a lens? Would I be making an assumption by attributing this book to the work of a woman (or women)?

These books bring to mind not housewifery guides authored by individual women, but household books filled to the brim with the collective knowledge of a family[9]. Two things became clear at this point. First, recipe collections relate to a family, to a community, to a lineage and when proprietor claim is lost, so too might the potency and relevance of the knowledge held within. Second, although unclear to what extent, a telling legacy of women's work and domestic responsibilities is evident in these manuscripts. While no one book can provide a comprehensive answer to whether recipe collecting has always been a female literary practice, the tales each recipe book explored in this chapter offer more clues to the nature of recipe writing and collecting in its formative years.

However, while my thesis in general offers a female-orientated reading of the history of recipe collecting—one which undoubtedly presents us with an opportunity to uncover a history of women's work and literary practices—it would be in a disservice to this inquiry to strictly gender the practice from its origins, particularly because gender divisions in the domestic sphere were not so strongly articulated at the time. While the ingredients and recipes themselves are fascinating, this chapter focuses more on fundamental aspects of the practice: how were recipe books passed down within a family lineage, and in what ways do these manuscripts attest to a legacy of women's writing and the pre-industrial domestic personae.

LINEAGE

What we can tell so far about the ancestral roots of recipe books is that they housed a variety of information relating to domestic life and were highly collaborative texts. Another trait, albeit not featured in all, is a female signature on the fly-leaf page. This trait informs the traditional viewpoint held by many historians in this field—such as Theophano, Shanahan, Appelbaum, Green, Broomfield and Pennell—that the historic practice of recipe writing was the inheritance and domain of female cultural knowledge[10]. However, historians such as Leong and Shanahan see ownership notes like Jane Gardner's as an oversimplification of a complex history of family contributions to one book and add that gendering the practice from its origins obscures a rich legacy. Men had a much larger hand in the production of these cookbooks than there is direct evidence for[11]. They may have acted as scribes or they may have written volumes themselves. That said, there are very few examples of primary male authorship[12].

[9] Leong, 2013. *Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household:* 95

[10] Theophano, 2003. *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives Through the Cookbooks They Wrote*: 27

[11] Figure 2 shows a contribution by either a Mr or Mrs Mulling in Jane Gardner's booke. The possibility that it is a male contribution gives evidence for a more general sense of community exchange.

[12] Shanahan, 2015. *Manuscript Recipe Books as Archaeological Objects: Text and Food in the Early Modern World*: 32.

Irrespective of theoretical stance, historians are in agreement that inheritance and bequests within the lineage family structures were imperative to the continuation of such collections[13]. The legacy we are familiar with today is due to the fact that the family saw them as highly valuable texts. Therefore, looking at some examples of how receipt books moved from one generation to another can help determine whether recipe books can be read as a distinctly female literary practice from their very origins.

When considering how receipt books changed hands, a traditional viewpoint would note: "presumably custom dictated that a daughter would inherit her mother's [receipt] book, often at the time of the younger woman's marriage"[14]. What is telling in Theophano's statement is the word *presumably,* as the ways intergenerational inheritance took place between women were often determined informally and almost never written down.

This act would also be considered a rite-of-passage into womanhood, in which receiving such valuable domestic cultural knowledge helped women with their responsibilities. One of the reasons for this is that during this time women lived under the doctrine of coverture, in which very few women could bequeath—or even purchase—'property'[15] and in most cases their legal identity was absorbed with their husbands[16]. However, there are some cases in which inter-generational transmissions were formalised—that is some were written down in wills or had more than one ownership note on the fly-leaf.

While the recipe books I have studied at the NLSA form part of a national heritage, these collections have lost touch with their links to familial ties and personal inheritances[17]. While I will return to this later, in looking at the ways in receipt books changed hands, I will be relying on secondary examples. The following examples explore a myriad of ways in which receipt books changed hands in pre-industrial times.

The two receipt books of Henry and Mary Fairfax of England—the main case study in cultural anthropologist Elaine Leong's *Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household* (2013)—trace a similar domestic history to that of Jane Gardner and the 'unclaimed' *17th Century Receipt Book*. Like those found in the National Library of South Africa, the Fairfax receipt books are dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and hold "instructions for medicinal remedies, the pickling of vegetables and fruit, simple dishes such as gruels and pies, elaborate sugar crafts and household tips for cleaning linens and perfuming bottles"[18].

---

[13] Leong, 2013: 84

[14] Theophano, 2003: 105

[15] Here, property refers to major ownership like land and buildings. Johns (1998) notes that under this doctrine married women had no real buying power. If she bought something without her husbands' permission/something he didn't approve of the transaction could be rendered null and void, for something as simple as purchasing basic goods like flour or a book.

[16] Theophano, 2003: 106.; Leong, 2013: 80-85

[17] The collection was donated to the NLSA in 1947, two years after Leipoldt's death. When donated, there were no records of how these books came into Leipoldt's possession. In the cases where a family name was given, such as Jane Gardner, I investigated further at the national archives of South Africa. I could not find any records of the Gardner or Sanderson family that coincide with what information their recipe books present.

[18] Leong, 2013: 82

While both books are attributed to the Fairfax lineage, neither of them began there. The initials 'M.C.' on the back and front cover link the book to Mary's matrilineal line, referring to either her mother Margaret Cholmeley or herself[19]. In a similar manner, the book Rhoda brought with her had begun its life before her marriage to Ferdinando Fairfax. The first ownership note of Rhoda Hussey on the fly-leaf page suggests that Rhoda obtained or began authoring the book during her first marriage to Thomas Hussey. She later added Rhoda Fairfax to the page[20]. Interestingly, one can note that Mary was not alone in this endeavour as her partner in life and collaborator in recipe collecting, Henry Fairfax, signals his role in the creation of the volume by his ownership note on the first folio[21]. Leong explains that these books were passed down informally through the Fairfax family for at least another four generations, with two additional ownership notes of Ursula Lister—who was the daughter of Henry's cousin Sir William Fairfax—and the other 'Robert Green'—believed to be either the husband or the son of Henry's granddaughter Anne—join that of Henry Fairfax and M.C[22].

The Fairfax family receipt books show us that early modern receipt books moved along both matrilineal and patrilineal lines. Both receipt books came into the Fairfax family through female hands at the time of marriage. In such a way, these two receipt books could fit the traditional changing of hands, especially if both Mary (Cholmeley) Fairfax and Rhoda (Hussey) Fairfax were gifted them by their mothers at their time of marriage. In other ways these books contest the traditional view. Unlike Mary Cholmeley Fairfax, Rhoda Hussey's initial signature—in her first married name—makes it unclear whether she received the recipe book from her husband's lineage, if the "common cultural template" shifted over her time of acquisition where it became the trend to sign previously 'unauthored'[23] family collections, or if she only began writing once married. Furthermore, the additional ownership notes of Ursula Lister show that books moved in a much larger familial circle than simply travelling down one immediate matrilineal line. The male ownership notes of Henry Fairfax and Robert Green also reveal that receipt books received contributions by, and were handed down to, men.

In the following example of the Johnson family from Spalding we see just how powerful the ownership note on the fly-leaf was as a means of claiming family inheritance. The receipt book of *Elizabeth Philipps Nov 1694*—who remarried into the Johnson family—initially bequeathed her receipt book to her daughter-in-law indicated by the inscription '*Eliz Johnson ye gift of her Mother Johnson'.* However, the step-son of 'Mother Johnson'—Maurice—was not pleased by this traditional changing of hands and asserted his right to

[19]op.cit.: 84
[20]op.cit.: 85
[21]op.cit.: 85
[22]op.cit.: 85
[23]By this I mean that previous cultural templates may have put far less emphasis on stating outright which family lineage or member the book belonged to. As the contributors were never explicitly stated, it suggests that it may not have been socially or culturally important at the time and, possibly, that books moved within a family to which the authoring and transmissions were self-evident to the family. The many unknown authors of family receipt books—*like 17th Century Receipt Book* —suggests that this hypothesis could indeed be true.

inherit the book, taking it from his sister: "*Maurice Johnson of Spalding in Lincolnshire claims this family book as of right it belongs to him*"[24]:

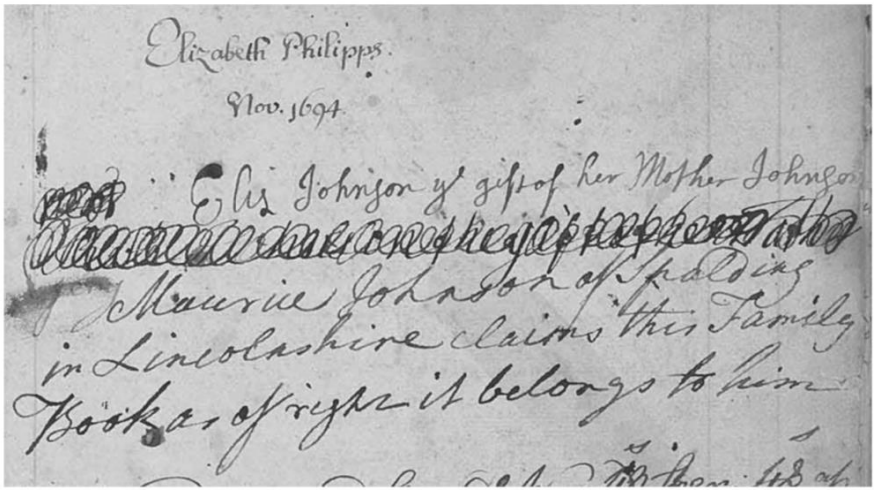


Figure 7: Elizabeth Phillipps Nov 1694 flyleaf. Wellcome Collection. MS3082 fol27r.

Elizabeth Philipps intended to gift her receipt book to her daughter-in-law, as one would have done traditionally, but the authoritative 'right' men had, under the doctrine of coverture, to 'claim…what belongs to him' meant that the wishes of both Eliz Johnson and Mother Johnson were undermined. It suggests to us that the inheritance of receipt books was not always traditional— that is, who was to inherit them was not always determined by the older generation or by women.

Not only does Maurice's fly-leaf note suggest that men valued and assumed ownership over receipt collections, it also refers directly to receipt books as collaborative "family book[s]". While Mother Johnson's initial fly-leaf signature fits in with the "common cultural template" of the era—including the full female name with the date of acquisition or creation—Maurice's understanding of it as a "family book" reminds us that they were highly communal and collaborative texts. The example Maurice Johnson puts forward of the "family book" suggests that for not only pre-industrial women, but men too - inheriting a receipt book was sought after because it meant receiving "tried and tested practical knowledge as well as physical record of their family lineage"[25].

The receipt book of Valentine Bourne extends the idea of a family book. On 2 October 1610, the widower Valentine Bourne inscribed his name in what would later become a comprehensive book of culinary, medical and veterinary receipts including conversion charts and medical terminology. The collection also documented family and local history; giving the birth, death and marriage dates of family members between 1566 (the year of his own

[24] Wellcome Collection, *Elizabeth Phillipps. Nov 1694*. MS3082. London. Taken from: Leong, E. 2013, 86 (figure 7)
[25] op.cit.: 95

birth) and 1626 (the year his father-in-law died) as well as copied out lists of Majors and Sheriffs of his town, Norwich[26]. Debateable whether a common occurrence or not, there were cases in the NLSA archives in which family histories were recorded[27]. Bourne bequeathed the collection to his 'lovinge daughter Elizabeth' and, going by the blank spaces left after each section, he intended for her, and others, to continue contributing.

In the case of Lady Catchmay's inscription in her collection (figure 8), we see a different kind of kinship playing out:

> this booke with the others of medicins, preserves and cookerye, my lady Catchmay lefte with me to be delivered to her sonne Sir William Catchmay, earnestly desiringe and charginge him to lett every one of his brothers and sisters to have true copyes of the sayd bookes, or such parte thereof as any of them doth desire. In witness that this was her request, I have thereunto sett my hand at the delivery of the sayd bookes. Ed. Bett (Catchmay, verso of first preliminary leaf.)

Figure 8: Lady Frances Catchmay flyleaf. Wellcome Collection. MS.

Here, in a possibly unorthodox manner, Lady Catchmay left her receipt collections to her son William, this, despite the fact that Lady Catchmay did indeed have daughters—indicated by William's "sisters". Lady Catchmay does "earnestly" ask that his siblings be allowed access to her "true copyes". However, unlike the previous example of the Johnson family in which the family book was highly sought after between siblings, Lady Catchmay makes clear that the access depended upon how "desirable" or useful the content was to William's siblings.

Furthermore, the phrase "true copyes" could suggest that while William Catchmay would be the main custodian of his mother's collection, his siblings would be allowed to copy out the content they desired. This could refer to what Leong terms "starter collections" whereby a member of a younger generation would copy out recipes from the family book—starting and authoring their own personal collection. This example shows us that it was also possible for receipt books to be passed down to one child but that the information could be copied out and disseminated to a much wider family circle. This could provide possible insight into the difference between 17th Century Ms Receipts seeming 'unauthored' in comparison to Jane Gardner's Booke. If a young woman (or man) copied out information from the "true copyes" for themselves as they did not inherit the original one, these starter collections may have been signed by a woman as it reflected her individualized writing and break away from the family book.

Another possible avenue to look at the ways in which receipt books changed hands— that is who was writing in them and making use of them in a particular family—is through wills. As we saw earlier in the example of Valentine Bourne, collections could be dedicated to a particular child, informing its path of inheritance. However, under the doctrine of coverture

[26]Leong: 88

[27]Seen in the manuscripts of Elizabeth Sharp Collection. MSA57:1(1). *Elizabeth Sharp's recipe book.* Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished); Manuscript Collection. AA Fullalove Collection. MSC56. Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished) and Louis C Leipoldt Collection. MSB837:2(1). Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

it was unusual for women to write wills[28]. In the few instances in which they did—oftentimes "lovingly depicting their domestic goods"—recipe books are not commonly among them[29]. While indeed scarce, the following will of Lady Johanna St John offers us a first-hand account of how—when given the opportunity to formalise the changing of hands—women bequeathed receipt books.

In 1704, with the formal consent of her husband Sir Walter St John, Lady St John penned her own will. Her will contained a number of personal bequests: she left her Bible to her eldest son as well as paintings, furniture and linens to her daughters, and importantly it mentioned two receipt books. The first was a 'great receipt book' left to Lady St John's daughter Cholmondley, the second was "a book of receipts of cookery and preserves" left to her granddaughter Saome "according to [her] promise"[30].

Lady St John's will offers us tangible evidence to the "presumptions" of how women passed on receipt books in pre-industrial times. In many ways it fits a traditional understanding of the network of inheriting receipt books. These books were considered the *property* of Lady St John, not her husband, to which she passed them down to her daughter and granddaughter along matrilineal lines. What is incredibly insightful is the phrase written by Lady St John, "according to my promise". This infers that prior to the formalized writing of her will, Lady St John verbally agreed to one book going to her granddaughter. This anecdote articulates what was most likely common practice, that receipt books were verbally promised, and as such informally bequeathed, by a mother or grandmother to younger generations. As possibly the tradition, it either did not warrant formality or due to the doctrine of coverture could not legally be formalized. Lady St. John's will also shows us that receipt books changed hands not only at marriage but also after death.

The examples explored highlight the complex gendering of inheriting and bequeathing household knowledge. While my own research along with a traditional viewpoint motivate for matrilineal inheritance, the examples drawn on from Leong's research indicate that it is by no means the only way in which collections changed hands[31].

While complex, what these examples show is that the ownership note in receipt collections were potent symbols of authorship and legacy, indeed indicative of who the primary custodian was. In which case, if the majority of authorship notes are female, it would be fair to deduce that in such formative years the *domestic* practice does originate from the work of women[32].

With this in mind, the words of Lady St John—as promised—linger in my mind when thinking of how books *most likely* moved across generations. The case of early manuscripts as "family books" is then marked out by the fact that health concerns affected the wellbeing

[28] Theophano discusses this: "to the degree that women could control the distribution of this record of their lives work along with other household possessions. Despite this, oddly, by and large cookbooks were not mentioned separately in wills.". 105
[29] op.cit.: 105
[30] Leong: 86
[31] op.cit.: 87-90
[32] This does not include the *sole* culinary writings of male chefs who worked in noble kitchens.

of an entire household. In which case the practicality/ utility of the book made it familial/communal, but my own stance lies closely with a traditional one in which case the writing and sharing was, more often than not, female. I do think they were informally bequeathed, and since informal bequests were women's territory, I do think more often than not women were the chief compilers and determined where they moved to. As cultural theorist Appelbaum writes "recipe books in their formative years were not particularly gendered, but the rhetoric and choice of what to include geared them towards the feminine"[33].

LEGACY

While this inquiry, so far, makes clear that the receipt book was a family book, one that was inherited—passed on to sons, daughters or cousins—and kept in the family, and while men may have had greater authority over where the book moved, the evidence (or lack thereof) suggests that it is *most common* that such texts were written by women, and if not written by them (assistance from scribes or literate men) at least intended for their use. We can tell this firstly, in the content (both healing and cooking are quite traditionally women's work) and secondly, in the nature and rhetoric of the recipes (this includes the way recipes were written and the community references).

While returning to the two manuscripts discussed earlier, this section also relies on another manuscript from the NLSA *M Sanderson, May 6th, 1770* and the receipt book of *Hopestill Brett, Her Booke, 1678,* explored by Janet Theophano. Brett's receipt book shares an uncanny similarity to Jane Gardner's in more ways than one. Firstly, the stylistic character to the ownership notes are identical which indicates that there was a 'common cultural template'[34] to the structure and style of writing receipt collections. Described as an "unpretencious book…bound in unadorned brown leather"[35] her collection contains traditional English culinary recipes as well as medical receipts and household notes. This similarity in nature allows Theophano's research into Hopestill Brett's book to shine crucial light in understanding Jane Gardner's book. On the contrary, *17th Century Ms Receipt book* differs greatly to Gardner and Brett's receipt books. It contains no trace of family lineage nor is it necessarily claimed as a female book from the start. It therefore offers us an opportunity to look at a historic collection with relatively fresh eyes allowing the content to simply 'do the talking' regarding whether it can be considered female authored.

While many of the recipes in *17th Century Ms Receipt book* are illegible to my eye—either due to the faded quality of ink, writing style or middle English spelling—darker notes written as side notes give a brief synopsis of what or who the receipt is useful for. The first third of the book is solely dedicated to medical receipts before any culinary receipts enter. The first

[33]Appelbaum, 2003. *Rhetoric and Epistemology in Early Recipe Collections*: 26
[34] Theophano, 2003: 33
[35] op.cit.: 33

ten pages relate very specifically to womanhood and motherhood[36]. For instance, long entries are noted as *A Receipt for the mother* (figure 9) or simply *mother[37]; to helpe a woman deliver* and *receipt for the crampes* – with an additional side note of "woman" which I suspect refers to menstruation. In addition, receipts for the health of children — considered traditionally a female responsibility—appear as *for collick* and *a perfect remedy for a childe which hath his cods swollen and to prevent burying if given in time[38]*. While Jane Gardner's receipt book doesn't have receipts for motherhood, it does include four receipts for c*ollick* as well as *for the wormes in a childe*. Other interesting medical receipts in both collections make references to depression. In *17th Century Ms Receipts* they appear as "an excellent water for the *Mellancollyes*, *belt of medicins for aloofness* (figure 1), and in *Jane Gardner's book* as *for when the mind has gone madd*. Otherwise, as noted, the receipts vary from cuts and salves to cures for cancer (figure 3), "*the plague*" and *small pockes and the yellowine of the skin.*

[36] While not in its entirety relating to manhood, the receipt "for a bullet" could be considered one for relating far more to traditional male responsibility – i.e. fighting for his country. However, this does not indicate that it would necessarily be penned by a man. In fact, women often aided men after battle, in which case it strengthens the suggestion that books were written and served female needs.

[37] Figure 9 shows an annotated note in the left margin for "mother"

[38] This receipt shows how real the threat of death was and attaining receipts such as these was–literally–vital and life sustaining knowledge.

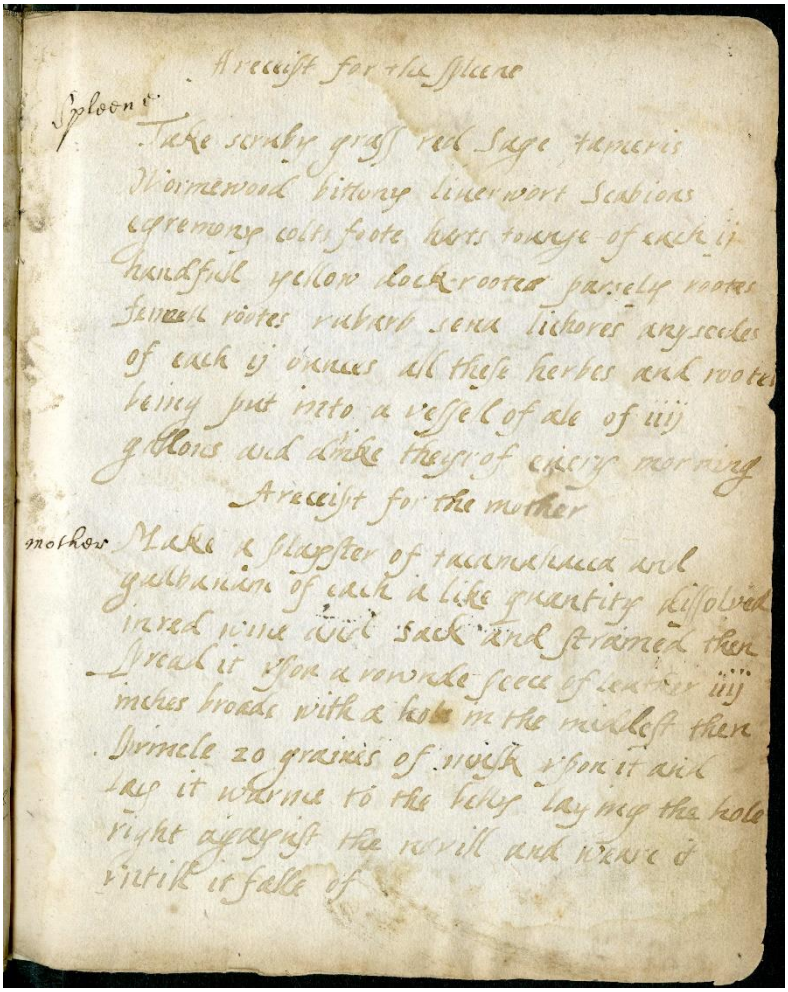


Figure 9: A Receipt for the mother

As we saw earlier in this chapter fly-leaf notes were incredibly powerful determinants of who a collection "belonged to". If we consider Hopestill Brett's collection as a reflection of the practice at the time—it offers us evidence that those who signed fly-leaf notes were indeed chief contributors to collections. Unlike the general characteristic of collaborative texts that include numerous contributors, Brett's collection is written predominantly in one hand, in the same style as Brett's ownership note. This indicates that Brett wrote almost all the recipes herself. Hopestill Brett's collection is important to include at this point as the similarity it shares with Jane Gardner's—by its historical context and ownership note style—offers a contrasting account to the family book, one of distinct female authorship.

As Shanahan notes, establishing who wrote a recipe is central to determining its meaning[39]. Literacy rates were low for women prior to the nineteenth century, so in order for women like Hopestill Brett and Jane Gardner to be able to write such collections in the seventeenth century they needed to be of noble or upper-class rank. There are various clues within these collections that support the premise that these books were written in aristocratic or upper-class families.

[39] Shanahan, 2015: 20

Firstly, the plethora of medical receipts indicate that the homes in which they were used had a distillery or stillroom, a feature not common in middle-or-lower rank houses. Theophano notes that a still room was "a room set aside for making confections, cordial waters, and liqueurs, cosmetics and healthful broths"[40]. Aside from many receipts referred to as *cordylls, waters* and *drinkes,* both NLSA receipt books have receipt for perfumes (figure 10) and Jane Gardner's has a cosmetic remedy for using *pigg fatt to take away wrinkles*. In *M Sanderson, May 6th 1770* a receipt of *for making a good Pormatum* (which I gather means a fragrant shampoo). These receipts indicate that the houses in which they served had stillrooms and were the mainstay of many aristocratic receipt books.

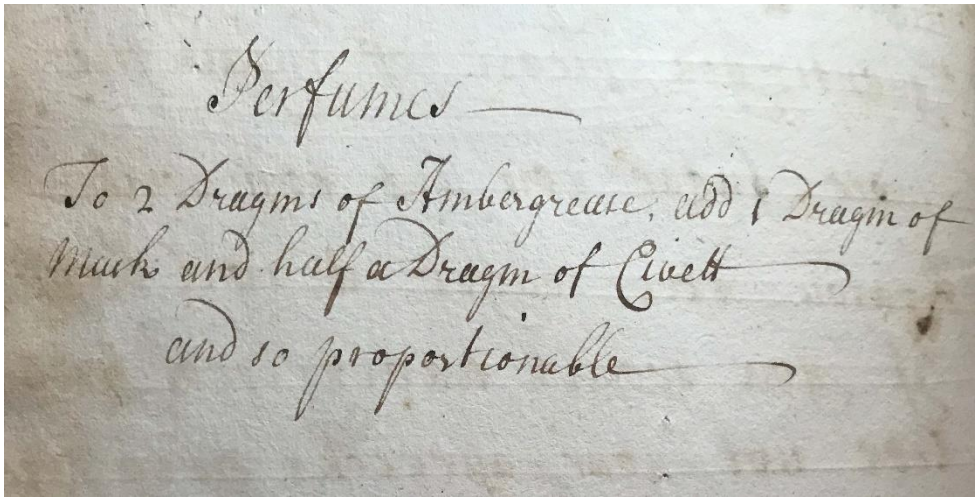

Perfumes —
To 2 Dragms of Ambergreace, add 1 Dragm of
Musk and half a Dragm of Civett
and so proportionable —

Figure 10: Perfumes

Janet Theophano offers further insight into possible reasons for high medicinal receipt. Often aristocratic families of the countryside treated the many village men and women for their ailments, "since the poor often turned to the local manor house and its matriarch for help in times of illness and accident, cookbooks also included time-tested, life-saving remedies for menstruation, difficult pregnancy, childbirth…as well as for earaches, cancers and constipation"[41].

Secondly, a receipt in *M Sanderson, May 6th 1770* from the NLSA collection has directions to *knit a Queen's King*. Needlework was a highly respected skill of upper-class women. Although most learned through practice— instructions of which were not traditionally written down— the directions indicate that it was both penned by a woman and referred to her domestic skills. Another sign of aristocracy is the inclusion in both collections of French recipes, *to make French bread*, *makarones* and *aqua Mirabilis* as well as the evidence of sugar in the numerous recipes for "candying fruit". Where salt was plentiful and cheap, sugar on the other hand was more pricey and featured mostly in upper-class homes.

Where Brett, Gardner and our anonymous collection differ from traditional aristocratic receipt books of the seventeenth century is in the nature in which they are written. Commonly, elegantly written aristocratic texts kept herbal, medicinal and cookery receipts

[40] Theophano, 2003: 36
[41] op.cit.: 111

in divided sections. However, these women interspersed medical receipts with culinary ones in a far more practically constructed manner. The discredit of writing the collections in an ornamental aristocratic way offers us some clues to the women behind them. It suggests that, unlike most aristocratic homes, these women most likely directly supervised or laboured over domestic duties with their own hands, as they did when they practically made additions to their books[42].

Looking at the information supplied by Valentine Bourne earlier in this chapter, the formalised writing of books could be attributed to a more historic masculine way of organising the family book's information[43]. From the numerous manuscripts I scrolled through, all the books signed by women on the fly-leaf wrote in this unstructured format. Potentially, aristocratic "truye copies"—books that were far more ornamental and written by the man of the house. Possibly, women's writing was far more practically based – written in the order in which it was received –and reflects the nature of reciprocity in early years: discussing recipes with friends and sharing them between one another. It also shows us that from at least in the seventeenth century, women have actively exchanged and shared recipes—advocating for books like these as perfect examples of "women's collective writing"[44].

For Monica Green, female medical historian, such books counter the history of male dominance over the household book, and its medical information, positing that the recipe book can be considered the first genre of female medical writing[45]. The fact that these books are more practically written could indicate that female householders were not only quick to combine self-diagnosis and self-treatment but also produced their own medicines. These books have given way to a "new feminine mode" of medical history as well as "major shift in the role that literacy played within the domestic medical traditions"[46]. It offers a historical account where women are seen as more than cooks but as healers and distillers too.

Where we see further clues of upper-class women behind these collections is by the references made to women either in, or next two, receipts. In Jane Gardner's booke, right from the start many of her culinary receipts make reference to a community of women. On more than one occasion, she makes reference in her receipts to noble women: *Lady* Pourbeck, *Lady* Honeywoode, *Lady* Falconberg. She refers to other women too, such as Sister Ayloff, Mrs Browse, Mrs Sands and ironically, Mrs Brett. There is a difference in the manner in which women are referred. In some instances, the reference is in the title — such as with *Lady Falconberg's Yellow Salve* (figure 11)—where others are noted to the far right

[42]op.cit.: 39

[43]See Shanahan: 2015. She writes that medieval manuscripts were mostly written by men, who were usually professional chefs working in royal or noble kitchens. From the middle of the sixteenth century there was a noticeable change in this pattern. From this time onwards, elite women began to actively exchange and share receipts among themselves. 32.

[44]Theophano, 2003: 30

[45]Green, 2008. Making women's medicine masculine: the rise of the male authority in pre-modern gynaecology: 301. Also referred to by Leong: 83

[46]op.cit.: 308. Also referred to by Leong: 83

of the title —such as *Cleare Cakes of Oranges the Lady Honywoode Way* (figure 12). Moreover, the multiple references to one person, like Sister Ayloff, indicates more than one meeting and exchange, it indicates friendship.

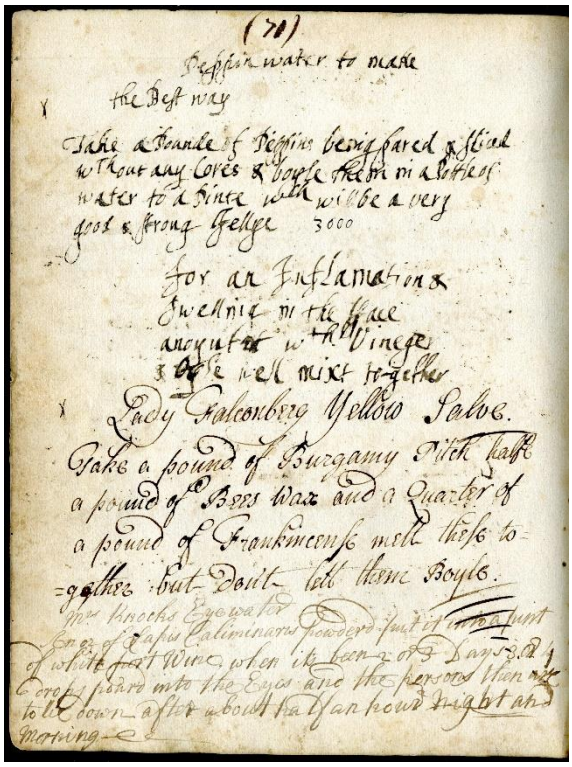


Figure 11: Lady Falconberg Yellow Salve

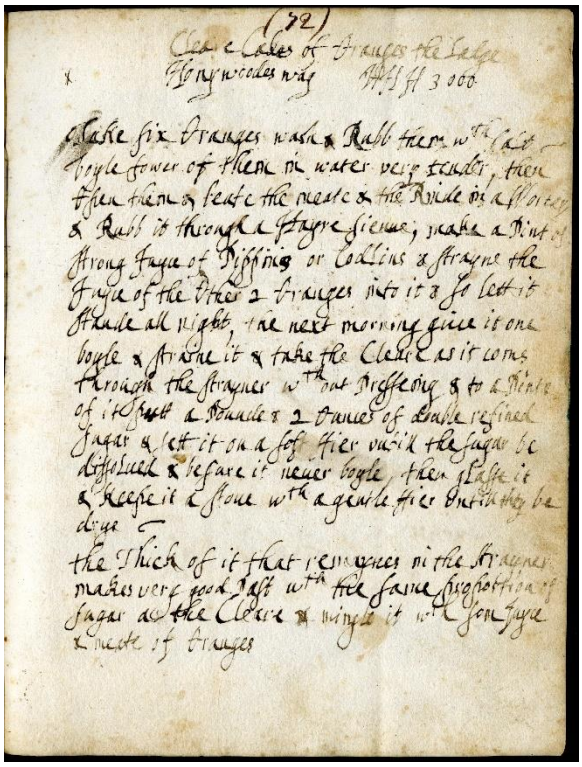


Figure 12: Cleare Cakes of Oranges the Lady Honywoodes way

17th C Ms Receipts follows a similar pattern to Jane Gardner's collection, although community references do appear less often and with a different tone. For instance, next to one receipt the author(s) refers to *my Cody Ruttronde* which is made far more personal by the possessive pronoun. The reference to "the Lady Governing" seems on the one hand more impersonal as it does not refer to who the governing lady was indicating less close personal ties, but what it does do is suggest that it was circulated within the community in which such a lady governed. However, in the same ways as Gardner this collection makes references to *The Lady Beetles*, *The Lady Newbourges* as well as *The Duke of Guilderland, his receipt for the Gout*. This last receipt is the only community reference that directly refers to male sharing of knowledge.

As we see in the differences between Jane Gardner's community references to that of *17th C Ms Receipts* the naming of a contributor doesn't necessarily reveal the nature of their relationship. What it does tell us is that a giving and receiving took place, however brief an interaction. It tells us a network of exchange existed, one which may have been "fluid, permeable, changing and not always comprised of social equals"[47]. One possible place in which these exchanges took place was at banquette evenings: "some ladies kept notes of

[47] Theophano, 2003: 58

bills of fare after giving or attending a dinner-party" and these notes of exchange show how prevalent community engagement was at the time[48].

What is interesting is that, oftentimes, many recipes would appear for one illness, such as in one 17th century receipt collections were close to ten receipts for "ague" (fever) were recorded. Often, a side note of "approved" would indicate which one was preferable, other times an adjective such as "excellent" would be included in the title, indicating which was best. In this way, women developed a "repertoire that was varied and was more likely to ensure them at least one reliable and effective method"[49]. Furthermore, as Theophano noted that the manor house often assisted the surrounding village, it could indicate that recipe books were not only collaboratively authored by a community of women but also served a community too. This also reveals that sharing recipes between women was an act of trust[50]. The cultivation of good recipes, and the sharing of them within a community to which they might be penned by another woman as *excellent,* both strengthened community bonds as well as the health of individual families. Seen by the use of *receipt* for both food and medicine—a resource of tried and trusted information that would aid a family's survival, not cause food poisoning or death—would have been a highly valuable resource. In such a way, women generated their collections collaboratively and cooperatively within a trusted network.

Looking at these community links reminds us that, besides from describing food and medicines, they offer us a thread line trail of individual women's interpersonal relationships and the ways in which she engaged with her community[51]. We can see this by simply looking at the word *recipe.* Originating from the latin word *recipre* meaning to receive, "the root word of recipe implies an exchange, a giver and a receiver. Like a story, a recipe needs a recommendation, a context, a point, a reason to be."[52] The narrative style of writing, as well as the communal giving and receiving of recipes—indicated by the female references and the comments in the columns— adds to the idea of them as "ongoing conversations among friends"[53]. The narrative style of the recipes is indicative of a story-like, conversational approach to which they were written and to how they were received. The narrative style embeds it in a particular context, one that has a relational nature because it represents an exchange between two people, showing us just how highly personal these texts were.

This giving and receiving of receipts offered women an opportunity to learn from each other but this is not the only way in which they can be considered pedagogical tools. Recipe books offered a space in which lower-and-middle-class women, most probably cooks and maids in upper-class homes, might have been given the opportunity to learn to read and write. In this way, "kitchen writing helped broaden literacy among women as domestic writings were

[48] Lehmann, 1999. *Politics in the Kitchen*: 79
[49] Theophano, 2003: 36
[50] Leonardi, 1989: 345
[51] Theophano, 2003: 31
[52] Leonardi, 1989: 340
[53] Theophano, 2003: 31

both the most necessary and permissible for them to read"[54]. Recipe books not only offered women a space for self-education but also self-exploration. As a concluding example, we look to the fly-leaf pages of *M Sanderson, May 6th 1770* (figure 13) and back to *17th Century Ms Receipts* (figure 6), which show a space where their authors doodled, scribbled, or practiced her own signature. In a time in which women were not offered many opportunities to think and write freely, to doodle and scribble, receipt books might have offered them something as simple as that.

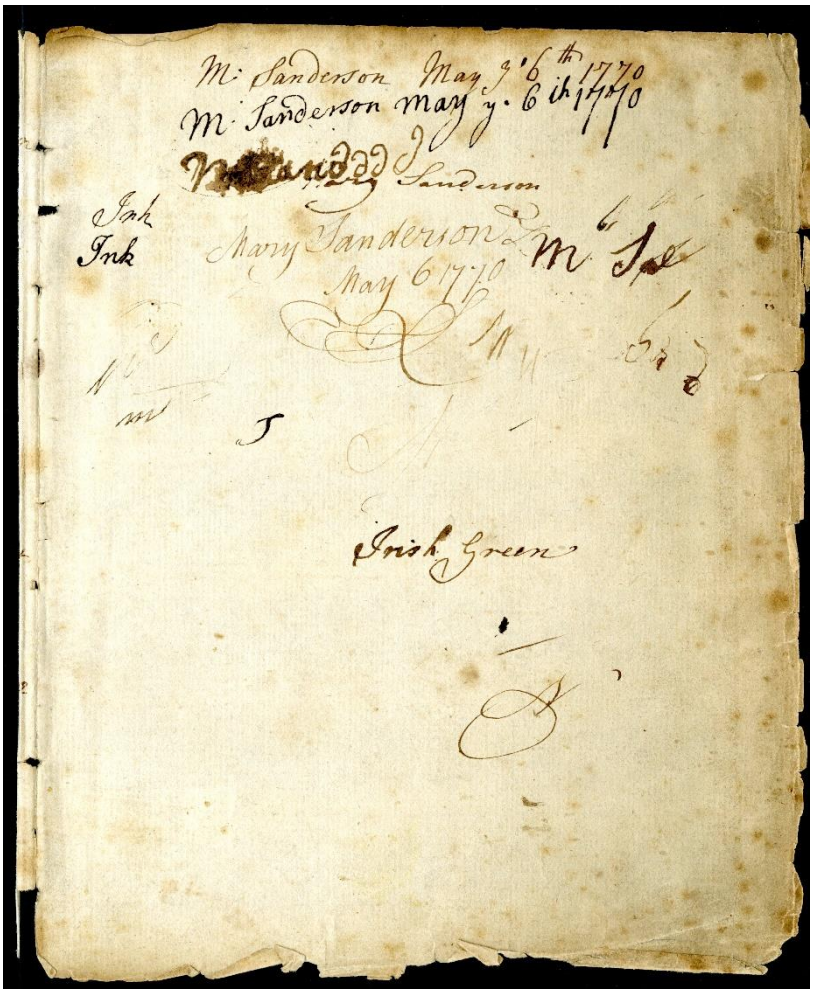


Figure 13: M Sanderson flyleaf

We see that the lineage practices and legacy of early receipt collections is a complex one. While the ancestral roots of the practice undoubtedly attest to a history of women's work and literary practices, it appears that such knowledge and practices cannot be "so neatly categorised" as being solely the doing of women. Part of this reason is that pre-industrial domestic life was not necessarily designated as a woman's sphere of interest (which we come to see in later years). Therefore the products, work and knowledge created within it were not distinctively articulated to one gender. At the same time, these examples tell a story about what is considered traditionally women's work as well as the social reality of a woman's world in the seventeenth century. That while related to her domain of work, in

[54]Theophano, 2003: 28

most cases women had little say in who their private writings were entrusted to. The authorship note on the fly-leaf and a women's promise of who she wished to pass her collection to was often all the authority she had. And in some cases, such as Maurice Johnson, men still had the final say in who a collection "rightfully belonged to".

Through a subtle and simply avenue, tracing a history of recipe collecting has revealed a wealth of knowledge of domestic management, studies of women's medical practices and the breadth of women's writing:

> *Well-worn recipe books occupy a space between the sacred and profane. They contain learning that is critical and life-sustaining. In recipe texts, women articulated valuable, often arcane knowledge about the mysteries of birth and death – women's domain of responsibility – how to cook, comfort and cure*[55]

The humble home recipe books detail a female domestic persona moulded by what concerned her, what might aid her family's survival, who she trusted within her community, and importantly, when afforded the opportunity, what she wrote about. And this is a legacy worth remembering.

[55] op.cit.: 107

CHAPTER TWO

THE FEMALE APPROPRIATION OF THE RECIPE BOOK: MRS BEETON IN CULTURAL CONTEXT

> *Historical studies often focus on the large-scale effects of the Industrial Revolution, such as factories and mass-production, but we rarely think of homes, as we know them today, as a creation of the same revolution*[1]
>
> *As with the commander of an army, or the leader of an enterprise, so is it with the mistress of the house. Her spirit will be seen through the whole establishment*[2]

Reflecting on these opening quotes, it becomes clear that the home – or the notion of domesticity – is by no means separate from industry – or notions of nationality. The two exist as dualities, as two sides of the same coin. As a nation modernised, so too did the home, and the ideas of what constituted womanhood, motherhood and domestic practice. The large-scale effects of industrialisation reconfigured a family's relationship to home and how women related to domestic responsibilities. A pinnacle shift away from traditional notions of home saw male work moving out of the home and into the factory or office, creating a stronger correlation between what was left behind; women and domestic labour.

With this in mind, one can easily see how the nineteenth century was the most influential time period in changing the history of recipe writing and shaper of the female domestic personae is undoubtedly the nineteenth century. In contrast to the humble and eclectic domestic receipt book found at the centre of family homes across the country-side which leaned more towards documenting daily life, mass-produced cookbooks in the nineteenth century – such as *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management* (1861) – put forward a more ordered set of instructions for the modern middle-class female reader. This chapter focuses particularly on how mass-production of cookbooks like Beeton's fostered an unprecedented middle-class female readership in which such ideas as 'good housewifery' were widely circulated and adopted. Hailed as the most popular book of the century, *Mrs Beeton's Book* will serve as the main case study when reviewing how this progressive period added to and altered, the rich history of recipe writing.

While chapter one finds little debate around recipe books being predominantly female authored - or at least serving a female audience –this chapter is focused on the way in which printed cookbooks articulated and prescribed modern notions of the female domestic personae as 'good housewifery'. In this way, it shaped both domestic behaviour and women's work in a way that it had never done so before (with a right – i.e. good – and wrong way of conducting women's work).

---

[1]Forty, 1986. *Objects of Desire: design and society since 1750*: 99-100.
[2]Beeton, 1861. *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management*: 1

THE FEMALE AUTHOR

While women had been contributing authors to their family manuscripts for years, prior to the seventeenth century printed cookbooks were male authored and noble affairs[3]. However, printing houses noted during the seventeenth century that these extravagant books –intended for the wealthy –were also being read and shared between 'inferior peoples'[4], most likely women and those of the growing middle-class[5].

Furthermore, during this century British printing houses published the first known female author. In 1661[6] Hannah Wolley authored *The Ladies Directory,* an eclectic collection of information that spoke directly to women's domestic and personal needs[7]. Unlike her male compatriots, Wolley offered humble and practical household hints and tips, speaking directly to this subsidiary readership. She covered topics such as culinary recipes, notes on domestic management, embroidery instruction, the etiquette of letter writing, medicinal receipts and perfume making. These proved to be very popular, making Wolley a household name across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and added a new dimension to the genre.

In practice, Wolley's collections echoed that of the manuscript family book, and subsequently literate mistresses copied her instructions into their own handwritten recipe books, passing down her advice and rhetorical style to future generations. Her well-received knowledge came from years of experience in the medical and domestic setting. Wolley grew up with a mother an elder sister were skilled in the medicinal value of plants. From 1639 to 1646 Woolley worked as a servant for Lady Anne Maynard, during which she honed her skills in medical remedies and learned many culinary recipes[8].

In a similar fashion, Eliza Smith and Hannah Glasse were instrumental in forging the legitimacy of female authorship in this genre of writing, based on their "constant employ[ment] in fashionable and noble Families"[9]. In 1727, Eliza Smith published *The Compleat Housewife,* or*, the Gentlewoman's Domestic Companion* and in 1747 Hannah Glasse published *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*. As with Wolley, their impact lay in the fact that they were speaking to an alternative readership.

For example, Smith tailored her collection more toward English 'comfort' food – more in line with culinary recipes found in manuscripts (unlike male authors who provided readers with French based haute-cuisine). Scorned as 'plebeian fare' by male chefs, this comfort cuisine - which came to be defined not only as home cooking but also as patriotic as it spoke of 'plain English fare' - stood in opposition to cuisine found in restaurants, at court and in the great houses of the aristocracy.

---

[3]From the mid-1600s, print began to serve progressives like male academics and philosophers, publishing new discoveries in books, journals and pamphlets. See Johns, A. 1998: 35; Bornstein's *Material Modernism: the politics of the page* (2001).

[4]op.cit.: 72

[5]The fact that the readership did not align itself with the intended audience reveals a truism that cookbooks were directed at male readership. The printing of Smith's book offers tangible evidence to female writings at the time.

[6]Hannah Wolley along with the almanac writer Sarah Jinner, she was the first Englishwoman to make her living as an author, beating out Aphra Behn, who is usually granted that distinction, by a decade or so.

[7] Goldstein, D. 2019. *A Guide to Ladies: Hannah Woolley's missing book emerges from the archives* [O].

[8] op cit.

[9]Smith, E. 1727. *The Compleat Housewife,* or*, Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion*: preface

Not only did the 'plain English fare' reflect manuscript collections, so too did the structure and inclusion of medical information:

> *Being a collection of several Hundred of the most approved Receipts, in Cookery, Pastry, Confectionary, Preserving, Pickles, Cakes, Creams, Jellies, Made Wines, Cordials. And also Bills of Fare for every Month of the Year. To which is added, A Collection of near Two Hundred Family Receipts of Medicines; viz. Drinks, syrups, Ointments, and many other Things of sovereign and approved Efficacy in most Distempers, Pains, Aches, Wounds, Sores &c. never before made Publick in these parts; fit either for private Families, or such publick-spirited Gentlewomen as would be beneficent to their poor Neighbours. By E Smith.*[10]

In a genre dominated by men, female authors such as Wolley, Smith and Glasse forged a new path by marketing themselves as plain honest cooks and housewives, in direct opposition to male chefs. These women informed both the content and market for Isabella Beeton and female cookbook authors alike. By the nineteenth century female authors and readers dominated the cookbook market, paving the way for the Martha Stewarts and Nigella Lawsons of our day.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS FEMALE READER

By the time Isabella Beeton published her domestic manager in 1861, mass-produced reference guides, cookery books and magazines were plentiful and successful commodities all tailored to a vying middle-class female readership[11]. The focus of the genre moved away from a male readership and redirected to the once 'inferior peoples', now the growing middle-class, of England. In its first year of publication *Mrs Beeton's Book* sold 60,000 copies and two million by 1868[12]. Undoubtedly the most popular book of the century, it can tell us a great deal about expectations imposed on women at the time, and, ultimately, how popular recipe texts like Beeton's shaped a modern female domestic personae. Before looking into this, there are two initial historical components that need to be explored in order to understand how the recipe book was adapted and adopted by a female readership. Both are related to the causal effects of industrialism: the growth of an urban middle class and the re-establishment of what constituted domestic duties.

In the late eighteenth century, the development of British capital and industry reached a noticeable scale[13]. Infrastructural and technological advancements implemented between 1760-1840 added greatly to an advancing Britain which was largely due to the increase in British agricultural trading[14]. However, as cultural theorist Adrian Forty notes, the idea of progress includes all changes, desirable and undesirable[15]. So, while praised for its modernising effects such growth drastically altered the lower and middle-classes' lifestyle and geographic identity. For example, Andrea Broomfield's work identifies how the British landscape changed within the nineteenth century. In 1800, roughly 80

[10]op.cit.: Preface
[11]Similar history presented by Beetham (2008), Appelbaum (2003) and Broomfield (2008).
[12]Before the mid nineteenth century print volumes were often hand rendered and materials were expensive. The infrastructure of the printing press allowed for mass scale printing. Johns, 1998 was a very helpful read.
[13] Forty, 1986: 10-20
[14] See Broomfield, 2007: 1-15; Sennett, 1977: 45-60
[15]Forty, 1986: 11

percent of the British population still lived in rural areas and small towns, and men were still largely employed in agriculture[16]. Few of England's people had travelled more than ten miles from the place where they were born. By 1900, 80 percent of the population lived in cities and agriculture employed a mere twelve percent of men[17]. While the upper-classes were relatively unaffected by these shifts, such large-scale changes uprooted the lower and middle-classes notion of work, and where work takes place (as living on and off the land – not purely for a wage). Furthermore, urban living meant more traditional ways of relating to the growth, cooking and distilling of foodstuffs usually practised in the countryside were rendered less useful. Cheaper alternatives were encouraged – such as buying bread from a baker instead of making your own.

During this same period, the middle-class had grown fourfold. As the upper-class and traditionally educated men made "few contributions to the rapidly lengthening list of new inventions"[18], the middle-class man was thus given room to grow. As new modes of work gave innovative men (and women – such as Sam and Isabella Beeton) opportunities to climb both the class and financial ladder. Within the space of 80 years, the British class structure was reshaped as the professional middle-class played a key role in industrial innovation, gaining social power and rank in the process.

The geographic and lifestyle changes made by industrialisation resulted in nineteenth-century men and women finding themselves leading very separate existences. Previously, the home was a place where men and women worked, and work was not so concretely gendered. Domestic responsibilities were shared[19] and most production and commerce, other than agriculture, had been carried out in the homes of the craftsmen, merchants or tradesmen of the middle-class[20]. In this way, the home was understood to be a place that incorporated both work and the habitual activities of living, eating, sleeping and so on[21]. However, over the course of the early nineteenth century as industry grew, the rise in both factory and office turned work for a number of people into an activity that was characterised by being done for a wage[22] - in a place specifically devoted to it - that was no longer the homestead[23].

[16]Broomfield, 2007: 8.; Forty, 1986: 11,13

[17]Between 1780-1840, many working-class families suffered from the negative effects of industrialisation. For example, agricultural work was the largest source of employment for working-class people. Inventions such as Jethro Tull's seed drill, implemented in 1800 replaced hand-based work. Years of poor crop production (1780-1798) coupled with an increasing population meant many families had to abandon their past lifestyles and travel to the cities in search of both work and stable food supplies. See Forty: 11,58. Additionally see Broomfield (2007), (2008). See Sennett (1976).

[18]The 'self-educated man'; as Ivins describes, was a condescending term used by the well-educated and wealthy upper class to describe those at the upper tier of the middle-class, also known as the bourgeoisie of the middle-class. See Ivins, 1969: 6

[19]Men took pride in their husbandry skills, tending to their gardens and oversaw household work. Even into the nineteenth century, men were the main managers of the home. See Broomfield (2007), See Forty (1986), See Cohen (2006).

[20]Women assisted their broker or merchant husbands or fathers with bookkeeping and recording or invoice transactions. See: Crowston, 2008. *Women, Gender, and Guilds in Early Modern Europe: An Overview of Recent Research*: 21

[21]Forty, 1986: 100

[22]As previous notions of work and where one lived were predominantly linked to the land – the distinction between living for a wage and the growth of necessary foods, herbs and livestock were not so strongly articulated.

[23]The result of such gendered notions sees middle-and-upper-class women gradually excluded from actively participating in political and commercial work. Exceptions were made for single women, who worked in very few

As factory and office spaces rose, both women and men had to come to terms with a more gendered domestic space. Women could no longer assist their husbands or fathers so easily and men struggled to remain in control of domestic management as they spent most of their time away from the homestead. Furthermore, although preindustrial women played a fundamental role in the kitchen, by the end of the nineteenth century there was a very clear stigma around women being self-reliant in any manner. The growth of the middle-class resulted in abundance, and, unlike the previous century, it became unusual for a middle-class home to *not* have a fleet of servant staff. Being idle and doing as little work as possible, even in the kitchen, was the new social norm. We see this in *Cassell's Book of the Household* (1890):

> *Very often mistresses of households do not grasp the fact, For instance, suppose we insist upon having our bread made our cakes, and also that we buy our fruit and vegetables making jam and pickles. Unless this work is performed household who would otherwise be idle, so far from saving, there is a loss*. [24]

In the first half of the century, we see the emergence of a modern woman more affluent than previous generations but also more isolated than before. The middle-class woman found herself in tricky territory regarding her work and responsibilities. Space and time limited her from cooking and preserving in the old ways and the ability to buy ready-made breads and jams was a sign of her affluence. At the same time, a fleet of servants was a class-marker too and so a less-hands on, idle approach to housework resulted in the new urban middle-class women overseeing work rather than doing it herself.

Unlike the centuries before, the material conditions of industrialism made women's association with the home especially strong, linking them ideologically. Such women were looking for direction and leadership in what these responsibilities and duties ought to look like. Mrs Beeton cleverly tapped into this by presenting them with a user-friendly manual that shaped not only domestic practice but female conduct too.

DOMESTIC MANAGEMENT WITH MRS BEETON

Isabella Beeton's momentous text, *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management* (1861), details the running of a household in Victorian Britain. The extensive guide, consisting of nearly 1000 pages and 44 chapters, is a huge compilation of recipes and information on topics ranging from spring-cleaning routines to elegant dinner parties, instructions to the mistress of the house regarding responsibilities and duties, including a detailed chapter on managing servants, recipes for various household preparations, as well as two medical chapters and one legal[25]. Unlike the women who came before her, the recipes were highly structured, doing away with the narrative style of writing recipes. It was illustrated with many monochrome and colour plates, exemplifying the image of a perfect dish. Dedicated to the Mistress, the book's typical reader was a professional middle-class housewife: a woman who was married to a tradesman, clerk, or professional; living in or near a newly industrialized city; and employing, perhaps, one or two domestic servants, a "maid of all

---

occupations, for instance as governesses or nurses. Lower-class women would most frequently be employed as servants and cooks. See Forty: 100. Additionally, see Crowston (2008).

[24]Broomfield, 2008: 111 cites Cassell. 1890. *Cassell's Book of the Household. A Work of Reference on Domestic Economy*.

[25]Beeton, I. 1861.

work" to help with chores and childcare[26]. Beeton offered mistresses tools and techniques that would render their labours more efficient, their purchases more economical, and their management more enjoyable.

Beeton marketed her publication to cater to the frustrations she saw women experience during her time working for her husband's, Samuel Beeton, publication. One of the fundamental problems the urban middle-class woman faced mid-century was the conflict between traditional and modern modes of domestic work. Furthermore, as middle-class men increasingly commuted from their homes to city centres, families domestic schedules became more regiment and women had less time to devote to domestic activities. Ironically, these methods became a luxury and fell to the domain of the wealthy[27]. New modern modes of ready-made bread and powdered packet soup were alluring as they made it possible for women with little time to create seemingly elaborate meals[28].

It became part of a domestic women's responsibility to navigate between either using laborious traditional modes or the uncharted waters of newer modern ones[29]. The negotiation between old and new was a lengthy process, and by no means settled in individual women's kitchens. In the following examples from Sam and Isabella Beeton's publication – *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* – we see the difference in public response to the inclusion of traditional versus modern cookery recipes.

Launched in 1852 at an affordable two pence a copy, *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (EDM) was a popular read. Under Sam Beeton's authority for the first four years, the recipes he included were lifted from pre-industrial texts[30]. Due to this, many early EDM recipes ignored the time constraints and space limitations of the urban lifestyle. For example, the 1854 volume contained a recipe for *Codlings* (apples) – from Rundell's 1808 text. While codlings were abundant in pre-industrial rural areas, they would have been impossible to grow and difficult to purchase in 1850s London. Calling on a 'harvest of codlings' – meaning 50 apples – 'to slowly simmer' demanded at minimum a full day's labour. Moreover, such large quantities required big pantries, something most EDM readers simply did not have[31]. The EDM readership were frustrated by the lack of practicality these recipes offered and by 1856, the magazine was showing real signs of strain.

[26]Iddison, P. 2007. Reviewed Work(s): The Short Times and Long Life of Mrs Beeton by Kathryn Hughes: 105

[27]Interesting to note, from the 1850s onwards traditional pre-industrial modes of cooking became an elite-class marker associated with the wealthy. The luxury associated with recipes that demanded time, space and money could only be met by the few who had large properties and large servant staff. In the metropolis, only the most-wealthy lived large, with well-equipped kitchens, pantries and larders. They were able to keep a servant staff to carry on long-cherished traditions of preserving fruits, baking breads and making current wines. See Broomfield, 2008: 111, 119

[28] Broomfield, 2008: 116

[29]To which confronting such a dilemma meant recognising that older recipes in family books were becoming less useful in a modern setting.

[30]These include Hannah Glasses *Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* (1747), John Woollam and Francis Collingwood's *Universal Cook* (1792) and Maria Rundell's *A New System of Domestic Cookery* (1808). See Broomfield (2008).

[31]The loss of space and time to cook in traditional ways drastically changed cooking processes and available ingredients. Large scale bakers, butchers and dry-food grocers began to replace homemade produce. op.cit.: 110

In 1857, Isabella assumed control of the magazine's cookery column. Rather than relying on old texts like Rundell's, she borrowed more heavily from newer ones[32]. In this edition, Isabella cleverly included the recipe titled *Instantaneous Beef Tea.* She mediated tradition and progress; offering a traditional recipe of plain English fare loved by many which could be brewed in a matter of minutes. The use of the word 'instantaneous' shows Isabella's recognition that speed and ease were important variables to the female readership. As a result, the recipes from the 1857 edition onwards reflected middle-class female domestic needs. The EDM recipes in these years began to rely more on newly available processed ingredients; they took into account an urban market economy rather than a rural subsistence one. In this way, the *Englishwoman's Domestic Companion*'s cookery column both recorded and participated in the transformation of the English diet from a traditional to modern.

Beeton offered mistresses tools and techniques that would render their labours more efficient, their purchases more economical, and their management more enjoyable. This became known in the 1850s and the 1860s as 'Economic Cooking' or 'Economic Domestic Management', a feature Beeton cleverly built into her own 1861 book of household management[33].

However, such economy also referred to a mistress's pursuit for useful information to assist her with the frustrations and limitations of new technologies. In this way, economic management called on women to adopt and incorporate features associated with a progressively modern society – one Beeton terms "out-of-doors" – instead of seeing themselves as separate from it. Another way of looking at it is to look at the use of the word 'management' in her title, which alludes to middle-class women as the managers of their homes, in alignment with middle-class men being the managers of their factories, offices or shops.

By advocating for order, economy and mistress-as-manager, Mrs Beeton echoed a modernizing outside world. Mrs Beeton put forward a clear idea of what an 'ideal' domestic persona looked like: "I have always thought that there is no more fruitful source of family discontent [than]that [of] a housewife's badly-cooked dinners and untidy ways"[34]. A leitmotif of the times signalled disorder in the domestic sphere as the worst kind of collapse, the failure of the mistress to maintain civilisation[35].

Based on a model of order - Mrs Beeton's writing aimed to tame the anxieties of new urban life in which the untidiness of nature, the deceit of the external world and the lower classes could all be contained[36]. This aspect of containment, at the time seen as the ideal middle-class female character[37], was designed into cookbooks and mythologised in two distinct ways: firstly, through a novel structure and style to her cookbook, and secondly, through the language and rhetoric used by

[32]These include: Eliza Acton's *Modern Cookery in All Its Branches* (1845), Carter's *The Frugal Cook* (1851), and Robert Kemp Philip's massive *Inquire Within for Anything You Want to Know* (1857), which had just been published when the Englishwomen's Domestic Magazine March issue came out. op.cit.: 112

[33]Beeton, 1861.; Iddison, 2007: 106

[34]Beeton, 1861: ix

[35]Beetham, 2008: 393. Additionally, Belenky (1986:6) notes that order became culturally valuable in the nineteenth century as there was a "general assumption that intuitive knowledge is more primitive, therefore less valuable, then so called objective modes of knowing".

[36]Zlotnick, 1996: 59

[37]Appelbaum, 2003: 3

Beeton in her preface and instructions. In both instances, the degree of adoption or internalisation of such ideas will be assessed by looking at nineteenth century manuscript writing.

GOOD HOUSEWIFERY

Beeton's book is explicitly addressed to "The Mistress" of the household. This direct conversation acknowledges that cookery books like this were directed at the middle-class female, revealing the assumption at the time that women were "responsible for creating the taste, both physical and cultural, which men enjoyed'[38].

She describes some of the qualities and virtues of a "good housewife" in which "hospitality is a most excellent virtue" and a "good temper should be cultivated" and reminding women of "the importance of dress and fashion" as well as "charity and benevolence are duties to be upheld". Additionally, she gives notes on friendship; early rising; engaging domestic help; and account keeping[39].

Urban living and absent men from the home caused a shift in the philosophical understanding of 'home'. The restrictive conditions of office and factory work encouraged people to keep home and work separate in their minds. The home became exclusively a place for eating, sleeping, raising children and enjoying leisure[40] - as well as a repository of the virtues that were lost or denied in the modernising world outside. English Historian Richard Sennett writes that the "traumas of nineteenth century capitalism" led those who had the means to try shield themselves from whatever way possible from the shocks of an economic order. During this time the family become one of those shields, in which they began to appear less and less the centre of a particular, non-public region, and more of an idealized refuge, a "world all its own, with a higher moral value than the public realm." [41]. Subsequently, a women's domestic duty was to hold the integrity of the idealized refuge in the domestic sphere through her "spirit in the establishment" and keeping a "comfortable", virtuous home[42]. A rather trite example of this could be seen in the choice of title. The use of *Mrs* Beeton – a title asserting marriage – follows good Christian virtue as she not only forges womanhood with the domestic but in particular, a *married* woman: symbolic of the union of man and woman, of house and wife, of womanhood and moral integrity.

Guised as protecting moral virtue, the gradual exclusion of middle-and-upper-class married women from non-domestic endeavours had reached the point whereby the mid-nineteenth century the public life of women was restricted to the "social functions of entertaining and paying calls"[43]. Mrs Beeton gives etiquette notes for this, such as: "on visiting", "morning calls", "going for dinner", "leaving the dinner table", conduct around "dancing" and directions on how to "depart from evenings"[44]. This state of restriction was justified by the assumption that women were unsuited to

[38]Broomfield, 2008: 393
[39]Beeton, 1861: 1-5
[40]The nineteenth century sees the emergence of separate spheres along the lines of 'productive' and 'unproductive' work neatly categorised through gender. For more, see Forty: 99
[41]Sennett, 1977: 19,20
[42]Comfort came to be equated with order. Orderly children, a clean house, and prepared meals for a husband when he came home.
[43]Forty, 1986: 91
[44]Beeton, 1861: 9-14

any other kind of existence because of their "supposedly fragile and delicate constitutions and their sensitive and emotional temperaments"[45] such qualities were seen to make them unfit for work. However, the very same characteristics were thought to make women suited to the management of the home. The innocence attributed to women – due to their ideological link to the virtuous domestic space – might have been out of place in the deceitful world of business and needed to be protected, but their supposed virtue and purity were the perfect fit for overseeing cooking, servants and children. This is seen in John Ruskin's lecture *Of Queens' Gardens* in 1864:

> *The man's power is active, progressive, defensive. He is eminently the doer, the creator, the discoverer, the defender…But the woman's power is not for rule, not for battle – and her intellect is not for invention or creation, but for sweet ordering, management and decision…By her office, and place, she is protected from all danger and temptation*[46]

Ruskin draws the direct ideological relationship of men-as-inventors and women-as-domestic managers, gendering each sphere. Beeton echoes this in the comparative nature of her opening quote, where just like a male run "enterprise, so too it is [with] the mistress of the house". However, in the preface we see Beeton make direct comment on gendered spaces and behaviours:

> *Men are now so well served out of doors – at their clubs, well-ordered taverns and dining-houses – that, in order to compete with the attractions of these places, a mistress must be thoroughly acquainted with the theory and practice of cookery, as well as be perfectly conversant with the order and art of making and keeping a comfortable home*[47]

Here, Beeton asserts that good domesticity – female attractiveness - lies in the ability to compete with what the 'out of doors' world has to offer their husbands. By detailing what good domestic practice looks like – i.e. a good cook and keeper of a comfortable home - she offers women a roadmap to keep a happy home and the attention of their husbands. At the same time, Beeton places the responsibility on a mistress's disorderly conduct if his presence is not felt – offering us a converse image of what 'bad housewifery' in the modern setting might look like.

Such a mistress who bought and made use of Mrs Beeton's book offered no threat to the aristocracy and noble haute cuisine. Although many middle-class women and men had modelled their lifestyles on the well to do for the first half of the nineteenth century, from the 1850s onwards the growing class began to determine their own notions of 'taste'. Instead of trying to attain elevated status through mimicking aristocratic lifestyle, they were able to express their status sufficiently through their power to buy goods unavailable to the working class[48]. The middle-classes ability to be economical and orderly in the nineteenth century rendered them domesticated and civil, elevating their class status closer to the aristocracy and distancing themselves from lower classes. This gave them the ability to *dine* instead of simply 'eating' or 'drinking'[49]:

> *Man, it has been said, is a dining animal. Creatures of the inferior races eat and drink; man only dines… Dining is the privilege of civilization. The rank which people occupy in the grand*

[45]Forty, 1986: 65
[46]Ruskin, 1864. *Sesame and Lilies: Of Queen's Gardens*. London: Smith, Elder & Co.146,147.
[47] Beeton, 1861: xi
[48] Beetham, 2008: 402
[49] Beeton, 1861: 84-84

> *scale may be measured by taking their meals, as well as by their way of treating their women*"[50]

The industrial boom meant class-markers were no longer as easily distinguishable. One of the ways to combat this was to transform food into a social class-marker. The quotation makes clear that Beeton's book articulated a clear understanding that what we eat and how we eat it are never simply physical and material[51]. Along with order, the ability to 'dine' in comparison to simply eating, was also a marker of a civil being to Beeton[52].

Beeton's statement of "the rank which people occupy…may be measured by their way of taking their meals and how they treat their women" shows how social distinctions were understood in the nineteenth century through the material and cultural values attached to food. Civilised homes and civilised treatment of women were co-dependent. In the same vein, only a woman of civil character had the capacity to run a civil home. The statement shows that aspects of domesticity, the way food was prepared, presented and consumed were not trivial matters. Middle-class femininity was "assumed to be natural yet always having to be recreated through the efforts of the woman" (assisted by advice, such as that provided by manuals and magazines)[53]. So, too, dining was assumed to be both natural and always having to be redeemed into culture through the efforts of women as domestic managers. Mrs. Beeton's book is a prime example of how a mass-scale industrial commodity, produced for the middle-class, helped to implement such a concept.

Another aspect of domestication - the progress from barbarism to civilisation - in Beeton's Book was the transformative power of cooking food. The difference between the raw and the cooked became a marker of the transformation of nature into culture[54]. Another important example of the domesticated women's transformative power is the example of tea. A once foreign plant from China a century before, had become synonymous with English fare. This shows how middle-class women, morally regenerative and utterly domestic figures, could take into their homes an exotic drink, erase its foreign origins and re-present it as purely English. "It is rather that nature is transformed into culture, the wild becomes domesticated".[55] In such a way, the incorporation of the 'other' (nature) into the 'self' (culture) could be done through domestication. Mrs Beeton's book includes such notes as "general observations on tea", with subheadings of menus for "wedding tea at home", "high tea" and "family tea". Furthermore, the mealtime of "afternoon tea" was in itself a reflection of modern living. As men's work away from home became the norm dinner slipped later and later in the day. and, as such, middle-class women devised an extra meal in the middle of the day from which men were absent.[56]

[50] Beeton, 1861: 291
[51] Beetham, 2008: 397
[52] Beetham, 2008: 397.
[53] Forty, 1986: 65
[54] Beetham, 2008: 400
[55] Beeton, 1986: 362
[56] Broomfield, 2008: 393

ORDER

The aspect of order is most easily seen in how Beeton visually and schematically structured her book. She brought an unprecedented level of order and precision to her management manual. While cookbooks tended to include a brief index, Beeton's *Analytical Index* at the start of the book cross-referenced recipes, giving a detailed and comprehensive structure to the book. Beeton dropped the traditional narrative and imprecise style of writing recipes, introducing the accounting style we are familiar with today. Within the text, each recipe was organized alphabetically within chapters, providing a detailed list of ingredients at the beginning of each recipe, the estimated cost, preparation time, seasonal availability, and the number each recipe served[57]. Additionally, different sized texts and types of fonts indicated different kinds of information. Titles of recipes were in bold capitals and the word 'ingredients' in smaller capitals while mode, time, season, cost and number of portions were in italics and the rest in small roman type.

While Beeton introduced many modernisations, 'economic cooking' was predominantly defined through timekeeping and accurate measurements. Sarah Pennell discusses how, in the eighteenth century, the house clock was introduced and, importantly, placed in the kitchen. Such placement introduced time keeping to the domain of female-based work[58]. Where previously recipes from manuscripts might indicate *cook until done*, cookbooks began to increasingly specify cooking times. This precision by timekeeping meant that meals were no longer poorly cooked, they were *ill-timed*, implying a lack of order and calculation[59]. At the same time, the introduction of precise ways to measure ingredients demanded a mistress to familiarise herself with arithmetic, fractions and ratios[60]. Where quantities were previously determined by 'as much as will fill the crown' of a coin, or not quantified at all: 'as much cream and eggs to make a stiff paste'[61], recipes were now given in tea-and-table-spoons as well as in millilitres to which Beeton advised her readers to buy graduated glasses at the chemist[62]. Such precision differs drastically to earlier recipes which commonly measured only a few basic items using non-scientific methods.

Beeton was pleased to move away from a vague and intuitive approach to cooking, associated with the past, as the "interesting facts, discovered in the laboratory, throw a flood of light upon the mysteries of the kitchen"[63]. Through such an example we see the motif of 'economic cooking' referring to the influence of science on the modes and processes of cooking through the traits of rationality and order[64] that removed the 'mysteriousness' of imprecise and intuitive cooking. Furthermore, by Beeton's reference to the use of chemist beakers, the kitchen was likened to a laboratory[65]. The metaphor of 'kitchen as laboratory' was another means of merging the civilising

[57] Beeton, 1861.
[58]In her article (1998) 'Pots and Pans History': The material culture of the kitchen in early modern England. 201-216, Pennell discusses how the placement of the house clock in the kitchen introduced an idea of order and timeliness to domestic tasks, especially cooking.
[59]Lieffers, 2012. *"The Present is Eminently Scientific": The Science of Cookery in Nineteenth-Century Britain*: 944
[60] op.cit.: 939
[61] Manuscript Collection. MSB777:1(1). *Mary Sanderson May 6th 1770.* Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).
[62] Beeton, 1861:40
[63]Lieffers, 2012: 940
[64]op.cit.: 936
[65] op.cit.: 945

'out-of-doors' world with the domestic one as well as identifying the kitchen as a progressive space helping those stuck in their traditional ways to transition over to more modern ones. To assist with this transition, illustrations and visual aids showed novice home cooks what apparatus she ideally should use[66], almost like a 'scientific demonstration' of how to implement and use modern utensils.

At the same time as scientific modes and processes were being introduced to the home in cookbooks, medical knowledge was slowly being removed from them. In the beginning of this chapter we saw that Smith's *The Compleat Housewife* (1727) contained a collection of 'near Two Hundred Family Receipts of Medicines', receipts that were tried and tested in her 30 years of experience. In the case of *Mrs Beeton* she states "towards the end of the work will be found valuable chapters on 'Management of Children', 'The Doctor'…these chapters have been contributed by gentlemen fully entitled to confidence; those on medical subjects by an experienced surgeon…"[67]. The comparison of Smith and Beeton's authority – or lack thereof - over the medical contributions reveals the professionalization of medicine 'out-of-doors' and the demotion of women as healers. Additionally, childrearing was no longer simply an intuitive endeavour, but one that required the same order and precision as other aspects of domestic management. Interesting to note, new editions of *Mrs Beeton's Book* in the 1870s completely removed medical receipts[68] to which, by the twentieth century, most manuscript writing had followed suit.

Manuscripts written (or added to) from the nineteenth century increasingly quantify ingredients along Beeton's influential lines. Although paragraph forms persisted, especially for directions, the private writing of women shows that such systems of order and analysis were being adopted. Whether women were aware or not, such quantitative lists dictated a seriousness and objective approach to cooking, with little room for personalisation or intuitive interpretation[69]. In this way, the structural changes to recipes that have since been adopted by women writers reflect how nineteenth-century cookbooks assigned themselves greater authority over the once intuitive cook[70]. Susan Leonardi notes that this shift away from the recipe in narrative form meant that recipes lost the social context in which they were once embedded[71].

As the social context and story of a recipe was lost by structural changes, the inclusion of colourful images allowed the recipe to come to life. The visuals also allowed a housewife to see the ideal way in which to present food to her family and what these new ideals of order and precision in presentation looked like. More importantly, the loss of narrative structure - replaced by images - shows that less traditional community engagement was taking place by which the 'visual example' played out in person.

Another way in which traditional community was modernised is seen both in Beeton's writing and in manuscripts. In Beeton's preface, she states:

[66]Appelbaum, 2003: 27
[67] Beeton, 1861: xi
[68] I looked at newer editions of Mrs Beeton's book after her death and saw the removal of medical recipes from 1870.
[69]Lieffers, 2012: 949
[70]op.cit.: 938
[71] Leonardi, 1989: 342

> *For the matter of the recipes, I am indebted to many correspondents of the 'Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine', who have obligingly placed at my disposal their formulae for many original preparations*[72]

The advertisement shows how the mass-printing industry changed female community bonds. Previously, where women might share recipes in a far more personal context, urban living shifted women's sense of community to a larger level. Manuscript recipes books that I studied at the NLSA give further evidence of this. Furthermore, from the mid-nineteenth century we see the gradual inclusion of newspaper clippings. In one collection which began in the late eighteenth century, earlier recipes appear in a more traditional format. However, the latter pages give way to more accounting-style writing and newspaper clippings pasted in[73]. Similarly, as print began to have greater authority over the determinants of female community engagement, so too did the practices associated with it. As traditional manuscripts were becoming outdated and less useful to modern women, the rite-of-passage role family books once asserted in previous generations were now being replaced by books like Beeton's. What developed was a well-established market for 'gift books', often as a wedding present, in which a personalised note would be signed to the fly-leaf page[74]. Of course, women continued to produce their own manuscripts recipe books. They continued to record recipes passed down through generations and between families. But as our modern understanding of recipe writing reminds us, even these became less personal and relied increasingly on printed authority.

The introduction of the accounting style of writing recipes and the scientific precision of ingredients can be seen as a metaphor for the modernisation of the female domestic personae. Through the medium of food writing, a once tradition-based, inherited practise with a rather vague notion of what womanhood *might* look like, being replaced by a prescriptive, ordered and characterised model, the way women related to cooking, and to themselves, was altered.

In such a way, as traditional and intuitive modes were replaced by scientifically validated ones, food became symbolic of so much more than simply eating for nurturance. The move away from the compendium recipe book towards a focus on food – and the etiquette around it – was by no means simple. We will see how food became a powerful symbol of gender, class and nationality – to which the cookbook industry began to turn the most humble foods into status markers. The changes in content and language in nineteenth century cookbooks like Mrs Beeton's helped to deploy this new symbolism behind food to the socially-conscious middle-class reader, one in pursuit of 'good domesticity' and social distinction. In such a way, the ingestion and digestion of cookbooks in the nineteenth-century were crucial mechanisms in the adoption of a generalised idea of what feminine behaviour looked like.

---

[72]Beeton, 1861: ix

[73] Various sources: Manuscript Collection. MSB777:1(1). *Mary Sanderson May 6th 1770.* Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished), Leipoldt Recipe Book Collection. MSB837. Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished) and Leipoldt Recipe Book Collection. MSB837:1(4). '*M Cunningham MacIver 11.12.1896' recipe book.* Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

[74] Beetham, 2008: 392

In the printed recipe book genre ideas around womanhood and domesticity were only made viable by the new middle-class readership. Published cookbooks in the nineteenth century were not only geared toward the middle-class Englishwoman, they put forward an ideology along the lines of such moral virtue of ‘good domesticity’.

CHAPTER THREE

NEW FREEDOMS AND CONTINUED PRESSURES IN TWENTIETH CENTURY COOKBOOKS

This chapter is a story of new freedoms and continued pressures to be the perfect wife and mother through a performance with food, and related aspects of domestic life. The twentieth century cookbook embodies these demands, but can be the voice of rebellion too.

We see towards the end of the nineteenth century how women acquire a new power in the house due to social reforms. However, in the early twentieth century such reforms resulted in an increase in health concerns and the welfare of children due to increasing concerns about the high infant mortality rate and poor health of male soldiers since the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, two World Wars temporarily relieve this pressure as women are able to get out of the house and engage in more public responsibility, and in so doing the home is given perspective. The new freedoms women attained, during the two world wars, meant that in a postwar context the home became the focus of the cultural West's attention. These gains were publicly viewed as a threat to the most basic institution of society, the family, in which women were pressured to return home. After the First World War, the *servant problem* massively increases women's workload in the home. The new kitchen with labour-saving devices only partly relieves this as the discovery of the *household germ* led to almost fetishistic concern about the cleanliness of the home. These concepts will be discussed later

Post-World War Two sees pressure for women have to return to domestic life, and in the United States women are bombarded by male dominated industries with messages regarding the 'ideal' female domestic identity. Discussed through the fictitious character of Betty Crocker, the mysticism of the perfect *American Housewife* is reviewed. By the 1960s, however, we see the beginning of rebellion as the pioneering work of Betty Friedan begins to de-mystify the ideal female domestic identity, and where cookbook authors like Peg Bracken begin to offer an alternative voice for women's domestic experience.

THE HOME AS A FEMINIST RALLY CRY

> *We take for granted that every woman is interested in houses—that she either has a house, one in course of construction, or dreams of having one…a man may build a house and decorate a beautiful house, but it remains for a woman to make a home of it for him. It is the personality of the mistress that the house expresses. Men are forever guests in our homes, no matter how much happiness they may find there*[1]

Published the year prior to World War One, American interior designer and author Elsie de Wolfe describes the home in vastly different terms to that of nineteenth century. The autonomy and ownership to de Wolfe's writing of the domestic is palpable. What, then, was the shift from the notion of domesticity—and how it links to femininity—discussed earlier?

From the 1880s onwards, increased legal status for women brought forth by the Suffrage movement sees new freedoms brought to women in the domestic sphere. The shift in control, in part, can be linked with the campaign for reform of the doctrine of coverture in which two major successes were the right to sue an ex-husband after divorce, achieved in 1857, and the right for married women to own property, achieved in 1882[2].

This was progressive and liberating for women who had been forced into idleness[3] through isolating law and social practice. The *Duties of Women* (1869) written by Frances Power Cobbe—an Irish social reformer and suffrage campaigner—asserted that the home, famously women's sphere, was also her prerogative. Cobbe, exiled from her girlhood Irish home by the doctrine of coverture law, staked a woman's claim to home-making:

> *the making of a true home is really our peculiar and inalienable right, - a right which no man can take from us; for a man can no more make a home than a drone can make a hive…It is a woman, and only a woman, - and a woman all by herself, if she likes, and without any man to help her - who can turn a house into a home*[4].

As Cobbe's text highlights, the right to make a home became a feminist rally cry, as "the house proved an easier castle to besiege than would education and the professions"[5].Previously, a women's sphere of influence may have been the house, but the nineteenth century *angel* who resided there had little control. British social historian Deborah Cohen notes that up until the late nineteenth century, men played a crucial role in the decorating[6] and furnishing of the home. Women's sovereignty in the furnishing of the house was limited to the drawing room, where "ladies of the family" were told by their male

[1]De Wolfe, E. 1913. The House in Good Taste: 5

[2]Up until 1882, a woman ceased to exist as a separate legal entity from her husband as common law dictated that a woman's property and possessions became her husbands. She could "neither sue or be sued, make neither contracts nor a separate will without consent" She could not purchase any goods without his consent. Anything purchased without it could lawfully be returned and voided. Information gathered from: Cohen, D. 2006:91

[3]Forty: 105

[4]Cobbe, 1869. The Duties of Women: 139

[5]Cohen: 120

[6]Cohen (2006) writes that the business of furnishing the home lay almost entirely in a man's world up until the late nineteenth century. The earliest home decoration manuals were written by married men for men: 90

counterparts, "it is now your turn to have your tastes consulted"[7]. In this view, up until the late nineteenth century women were simply thought of as "managers"—to quote Beeton—and not as authority figures in the domestic space; left in charge of the spirit of the space and how it was run.

The Victory at the turn of the century, then, led to a new domesticity in which women had more authority—a change not taken lightly by male and public opinion. As late as 1909, male critics like Thomas Crosland—who was a popular British poet, author and journalist at the time—scornfully denounced the social changes which lay in front of him:

> *this absence of responsible male population throughout the day may be reckoned a much more serious matter than it appears…practically it gives over the household and all that dwell therein to the unquestionable rule of woman, which is not good.*[8]

Notions of masculinity no longer esteemed men's keen interest and role in decorating and furnishing the home[9] and, along with this much of their time was spent out of the house. However, the "unquestionable rule of woman" brought forth by new freedoms seemed to be a difficult reality to digest.

The phrase "a man may build a house…but it remains for a woman to make a home of it" and men seen as guests from de Wolfe's writing reveals a shift in the domestic responsibility of home making. For the first generation of women endowed with a pinch of control over marital property, the home proved a potent symbol of independence. However, little changed in how she was viewed outside the home, in which women not only identified with the house but felt that their femininity was "inalienable" from it. So close had the identification between woman and the house become that a woman who failed to express her personality in this way was in danger of being thought lacking in femininity: "A woman whose home does not bear the relation of nest to bird…she is herself deficient in the womanly power of thoroughly imposing her personality upon her belongings"[10].Therefore, the material conditions of modern society meant that by the twentieth century women's association with the home was stronger than ever[11].

The reclamation of the domestic space as a women's "inalienable right" sees that from the 1890s onwards, women's sense of themselves and their identity became increasingly tied up in their décor to which it became common to see the "expression" of the "personality of the mistress" and this was seen as her "womanly power"[12],which had the capacity to turn the house into a *home*. The correspondence between the house and the female body firstly establishes a fused identity of space and body, of which "men are forever guests in our homes, no matter how much happiness they may find there". Secondly, the supposition that

[7] op.cit.: 93
[8] op.cit.: 101
[9] op.cit.: 92.
[10]Forty cites Cobbe, Francis. 1869. 10-11
[11]op.cit.: 104
[12]Forty, 1986, Cites Cobbe: 158

a woman is "under an obligation to care for her house as she cares for her body"[13]. Both identities, one of authority and one of obligation, becomes important in the discussion of the twentieth century identification of mistress as *homemaker.*

These new concepts women thought of themselves through were not solely due to new freedoms but also linked to the emergence of psychology at the turn of the century. Psychology saw a "new, seemingly secular way of thinking about the self" expressed in the concept of personality[14]. Despite advances in public life and improvements in their legal status, women's life possibilities were still constrained: in the absence of the office or an occupation, women's things constituted the tools of their trade, the ingredients of their personality[15].

The publication *The Good Housekeeping Woman's Cookbook* (1909) offers evidence for the social perception of women and domesticity in transition. Cleverly crafted with purposeful blank pages for women to write their own notes, a strategy which shows the deliberate "making of space" for women to "carve" her individuality in a book symbolic of her domestic duties[16].

Yet the new liberties offered to the mistress as a homemaker were only half-truths as women's conceptions of self were not only tied up, in and limited to, the domestic space but were stronger than ever. In years to come, the effect of the war in which women attained further freedoms as they were called forward to replace men in their factory jobs offered women a sense of self outside of the home and gave the home perspective.

INCREASED FREEDOMS, INCREASED RESPONSIBILITIES

While the domestic domain was the space of women—one which had only decades ago been claimed as *her right*—interwar cookbook rhetoric oozed content that reinforced the basic institution of the family (married) life and the devotions of work attached to it. During this time of new freedoms for women, Elizabeth Driver posits that during the same period (between 1875-1914) the 'cookery book' genre reaches its height in popular publishing, a position it has retained ever since[17]. As a time of new freedoms and increased pressures, twentieth century cookbooks can be read as socio-political texts in which societal anxieties were mediated/communicated. As a part of popular culture, its content reflects that of dominant cultural views, not necessarily in touch with the grounded and realistic views women held at the time. A 1934 Cookbook, *The Home of Today*, communicates the grand narrative of postwar anxieties and where women's interests lay:

[13]op.cit.: 104
[14]Cohen, 2006: 125
[15]op.cit.: 2006: 119
[16]Important to note here, we see how the manuscript practice influenced popular publishing
[17]The emergence of American publication into dominant cultural discourse for the English-speaking West means that this section will be making use of examples from both US and UK sources.

> *the home is by far the most important institution in the lives of the British people. It is the centre of interest, not only in the immediate family life, but equally in the wider hustling world of trade and commerce…For the average British men and women, each day starts and ends in the family centre. The influence of a happy, harmonious home is therefore a national asset… The powerful influence of a well-run home is therefore a matter of national importance and must be recognised and encouraged as such*[18].

In a variety of ways, women were reminded of their *place* in society and were pressurized to return home and perform an ever-increasing list of domestic duties.

The passage describes the home in terms that would be utterly unfamiliar fifty years before. In the nineteenth century, most societal attention was directed toward the growth of trade, commerce, urban infrastructure and Imperial pursuits. However, in the twentieth century we see far more attention given to the home as it is the space in which the citizens of tomorrow—i.e. "national assets"—are raised. Efficient domesticity—rendered by the labour-saving home—was actively cultivated and celebrated as it was now seen as important for the future of the nation.

From the 1920s, increased domestic efficiency was introduced through the electrification and mechanization of the space which resulted in the term: *the labour-saving home*[19]. Families transitioned from coal to electric technologies and internal plumbing allowed for hot and cold running water on all floors. The replacement of electric stoves, irons and washing machines meant that the laborious tasks associated with coal and older modes disappeared—lightening the load and easing a good part of burdensome housework. The consumer market for such appliances became a defining part of British nationalism[20]. Increased efficiency was also expressed in the design of furnishings and the houses themselves. In particular, the kitchen began to be designed with the housewife in mind. Since the end of the nineteenth century, there had been a steady decline in working-class women filling the position of maid or cook, which came to be known by the 1920s as the *servant problem*[21].

This shift from servant to mistress resulted in women being more actively involved in the domestic responsibilities of their own homes and under the watchful eye of the state. The

---

[18]n.a. 1934. *The home of today*: *Its Choice Planning Equipment and Organisation Daily Express*: 7

[19] Cowan notes that kitchens were, in addition, much easier to clean when they did not have coal dust regularly tracked through them, one writer in the *Ladies Home Journal* estimated that her kitchen cleaning was reduced by half when coal stoves were eliminated (8). Furthermore, the refrigeration of food both in the home and in transit meant that markets were meant that fresh foods were available all year round and at reasonable prices. Here, see Broomfield, 2007: 27

[20]This was also a response to the turn of the century plateau in British consumption. The Release of electric appliances in the 1920s refuels both production and consumption

[21]Illustrations in magazines before WWI depict the women doing the housework as servants and the lady of the house being tended to/served. End of the 1920s the servant has disappeared from the illustrations, all the jobs were being done by housewives – elegantly manicured and coiffed, to be sure, but housewives, nonetheless. See Cowan, 2018. The "Industrial Revolution" in the Home: Household Technology and Social Change in the 20th Century: 10

attention given to the home "as the most important institution" meant that women were far more acutely aware of the processes through which they completed their work. This newfound attention given to the domestic space—and the technologies that were introduced in the process—meant the middle-class mistress was expected to demonstrate competence in several tasks that had previously not been in her purview or had not existed at all.

The standard of household care increased during the 1920s as new technologies eliminated some chores—such as the drudgery of using and cleaning coal stove and maintaining the kitchen fire for the heating of water before being hauled upstairs. However, the discovery of the "household germ" led to almost neurotic concern about the cleanliness of the home. The hygienists of the domestic science movement built up anxiety about cleanliness by teaching that every trace of dirt was a potential source of disease[22]. These resulted in new chores and increased demands to keep the home scrupulously clean.

However, the home received a new level of attention mainly based on the proposition that the quality of the domestic environment had a major influence upon the physique and health of the nation. The cause of poor physique and of the high rate of infant mortality was said to lie principally in the domestic sphere, obscuring and overlooking much more relevant factors of malnutrition and poverty in working-class families[23].In this view, the solution to a national problem of public health was looked for in individuals—specifically the mother—and a social institution—the family. In this sense, the 'lightening the load' on domestic work introduced a new set of political values into the home: what is considered most efficient is best for the housewife in fulfilling her role of caring and raising healthy children, in particular healthy soldiers[24]. For example, in *National Health: A Soldier's study,* Major General Frederick Maurice said:

> *whatever the primary cause…we are always brought back to the fact that…the young man of 16 to 18 years of age is what he is because of the training through which he has passed during his infancy and childhood…citizens, it is essential that the attention of the mothers of a land should be mainly devoted to the three Ks -Kinder, Kuche, Kirche. [Children, Kitchen and Church.][25]*

The first of the three *K's*—Children—is in no way coincidental, as women are reminded on a national level of where their devotion and attention should lie. This was also in response to the choice of abstinence from marriage, which was more feasible for middle-class women who were starting to have greater possibilities of economic independence without social stigma. The national needed healthy soldiers and the reduction in childbirth rate at the turn of the century threatened that reality[26]. War time industrial demands strengthened the

[22]Forty, 1986: 168
[23]Davin: 13
[24] Forty: 118
[25]Maurice, 1903:5 cited by Davin (1978). Imperialism and motherhood: 19
[26] Hendricks, 1997. *Children, childhood and English society 1880-1990.*

female position that came from new opportunities presented by unprecedented public engagement: factory work during the war, new opportunities for higher education, the professions, and eventually, the right to vote in 1928. So, the reason for the trumpet-call was partly to remind women that "the sacred duties of motherhood must not be shirked"[27].

The rhetorical language used sees a woman's world becoming a place of physical welfare over a moral one, where her duty has shifted from a still presence to full-fledged service for the family. Additionally, even the recommendations for marriage changed. In the 1860s, the young woman was advised to "seek a partner for life" that will "support her, protect her" and *was* qualified to "guide her"—with no mention of children. In 1914, however, the three main tenets of marriage were for the "reproduction of the race, the maintenance of social purity and the mutual comfort of a partner'[28], not too far from the German *Kinder, Kuche, Kirche.*

This set of values lay heavily on more active engagement by the mistress in her own home. The relative importance of various rooms is no longer the same. For instance, Maurice's *second K*, the kitchen, comes to receive far more attention than it had before the twentieth century while the drawing room less receives more—this is reflected in the shift in design.

The ordering of Maurice's *three K* shows that the church is important, but subsidiary to the function of child-rearing and nutritious food. Additionally, Forty points out that twentieth century literature about the home, preoccupations with motherhood, children and hygiene, replaced instructions about needlework and the Christian virtues[29]. This is reflected in the changes to the female syllabus. It was argued, by learning skills to make domestic work less laborious these duties would be carried out better and with less waste of physical effort. Where schooling offered to middle- and upper-class girls previously focused on needlework and female conduct, a formal syllabus was drawn up for a three-year course in cookery, laundry and housewifery that was introduced in 1898. It emphasized that the theoretical aspects of these subjects were to be taught and that girls should learn the scientific principles underlying activities as well as merely the practice of them (Forty:161). Additionally, schools such as the *Good Housekeeping Research Institute* and *Better Homes* were set up at the turn of the century with similar focal points[30].

Just as there seemed to be a science or skill to rendering housework as efficient as possible, which *The Good Housekeeping Institute* represented, so too emerges the science and craft of mothering *properly* (or efficiently). Schools for better mothering were set up to teach

[27] Cohen:
[28] Davin, 14
[29] Forty, 1986: 114
[30] Besides the official activity, voluntary societies for the promotion of public health and domestic hygiene mushroomed: *The Institute of Hygiene* (1903), *The National League for Health*, *Maternity and Child Welfare* (1905) and *The Food Education society* (1908) to name but a few[30]. Such institutions endorsed the concept of 'domestic science', attempting to professionalise what was otherwise known as housework. Research explored extensively by Davin (1978)

young mothers how to carry out their responsibilities better[31]. Normal, fit children were raised in normal homes by naturally fit mothers. It reminds women that their devotion lied in domestic duties through referencing their industrial competitors *three K's*: to serve children, to serve meals, and to preserve morality. Therefore, home, in particular domesticity, is deeply intertwined with a national understanding of the self.

In the twentieth century the average housewife had fewer children than her mother had had, but she was expected to do things for her children that her mother would never have dreamed of doing[32]. Such responsibilities and shortfalls saw many women dealing with guilt and insecurity. This was even built into the language of cookbooks. For example, the mass-market producers of flour in America, Gold Medal, began to release cheap cookbooks to be bought alongside their products. Their 1921 publication was directed specifically towards this ideology of motherhood, Gold Medal Flour's *Mom's Recipe Book.* One advert mentions the following:

> *It's worry—not work—that tires one's soul, and its poor bread, a poor table and poor living that adds to the wife's trials and nags the patient husband. Why not start housekeeping right, you are far-sighted and learn the wisdom from utilizing, at once, every possible means for lightening and brightening your housekeeping duties?"*

As the job of the housewife changed, the connected ideologies also changed; there was a clearly perceptible difference in the attitudes that women brought to housework before and after World War I. Before the war the trials of doing housework were regarded as just that—trials—necessary chores that had to be supervised. After the war, housework changed from a trial to an emotional "trip". Laundry was not simply laundry, but an expression of love; the housewife who truly loved her family would protect them from the embarrassment of dirty trousers. Feeding the family became a way to express the housewife's artistic inclinations and a way to encourage feelings of family loyalty and affection. Cleaning the bathroom sink became an exercise of protective maternal instincts, providing a way for the housewife to keep her family safe from disease. Tasks of this emotional magnitude could not possibly be delegated to servants, even assuming that qualified servants could be found[33].

---

[31] Through 'scientific observation', the *Mothercraft theory* developed by King offered new mother's *skills* for effective, thus good, mothering. *Mothercraft,* and other theories of the time, were based in routine and habit training in alignment with the stardardization of childhood. In this view, Maurice's statement alludes far more to the constituents of the 'standardization of womanhood' than that of childhood.

[32] Such as: to prepare their special infant formulas, sterilize their bottles, weigh them every day, see to it that they ate nutritionally balanced meals, keep them isolated and confined when they had even the slightest illness

[33]Additionally: Women who failed at these new household tasks were bound to feel guilt about their failure. Women's magazines are portrayed as feeling guilty a good lot of the time, and when they are not guilty they are embarrassed: guilty if their infants have not gained enough weight, embarrassed if their drains are clogged, guilty if their children go to school in soiled clothes, guilty if they fail to notice the first signs of an oncoming cold, embarrassed if accused of having body odour. See Cowan: 16-19.

A woman's world was once more reduced to the nitty-gritty aspects of domesticity, tasks which should indeed keep her busy in the home with little interest or time in civic engagement. The onset of The Second World War saw a shift away from the home for women, albeit was only temporary.

POSTWAR APPETITES

The additional liberations, away from the domestic, that a second world war gave women only heightened the interwar concern for a stable family institution. Ever-increasing numbers of middle-class women sought employment and civic activities outside of the home leading up to and through WWII. But, the sudden return of the nation's men pushed women to give up careers and return home to foster traditional ideas of domesticity. In an attempt to reaffirm traditional gender roles, the ideal image women were prescribed to follow in cookbooks was constructed as a means to mend the fractures and uncertainty wartime destruction brought to the male – and national – identity. However, in Britain, the nation struggled with postwar debt and the rationing of basic foodstuffs which meant the reconfiguring of domesticity was both limited and seen as secondary to other national issues. Meanwhile, in America, postwar appetites for rich, abundant food and cozy domesticity set the tone for the decade of the 1950s. This constructed role— one which was highly prescriptive of an ideal female domestic identity—became known as the cultural phenomenon of the *American Housewife*[34].

There is no better example of the cultural West's preoccupation with women's roles postwar—and the degree to which this ideal domestic persona was constructed and sold to women—than by the brand of Betty Crocker. A fictitious character designed by the male dominated food industry[35], Betty Crocker was seen as the personification of the ideal housewife in the interwar and postwar years. The name *Betty* was chosen for its 'homely' quality—one which once again binds women to the home space—and *Crocker* in honour of a former male executive, William Crocker[36].

Since 1921, Betty Crocker dispensed housekeeping advice first through the mail[37], then over radio, before releasing *Betty Crocker's Picture Book* in 1950. The publication is the second all-time culinary best-seller in America to date and was the most popular text of the decade. In contrast to this pedestalled image of womanhood, the ground-breaking publication *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) by Betty Friedan opened the minds of women to possibilities beyond housekeeping and childrearing, de-mystifying the cultural phenomenon of the

[34]Friedan, 1963. *The Feminine Mystique.* She described the American housewife as "the dream image of the young American woman and the envy, it was said, of women all over the world": 18

[35]Men dominated it in terms of the workspace, but women dominated it in terms of who dealt with food in the family

[36]Shapiro, 2004. *"And here she is…you Betty Crocker!":* 90

[37]The character of Betty Crocker was created in response to a promotional campaign that drew a much larger audience than expected. What startled executives more than the thousands of entries were the letters that arrived with the entries, in which women jumped at the opportunity for assistance in solving their baking problems. Initially responses were signed by an executive of Gold Medal, but they soon realized that a businessman was not the most credible source for advice on cooking, to which they created the spokeswoman Betty Crocker. See Shapiro, 2004.*"And here she is…you Betty Crocker!"*

American housewife Crocker symbolizes. Friedan's text can be read here as a response to the crises of returning servicemen and postwar social upheavals in the 1950s which resulted in the suburban captivity of women. With this in mind, postwar cookbooks like Betty Crocker's can be seen as a response to a specific social and cultural need to reverse women's wartime gains in the workplace and public sphere.

In a similar way to Britain in the interwar years, American postwar cookbooks communicated on a large scale that it was of national importance for women to return to home in the interest of the nation—symbolically connecting a traditionally domestic persona to the renewal of the nation postwar. Friedan sees a direct link of this repressive system and the return of eleven million servicemen post war:

> *after the loneliness of war and the unspeakableness of the bomb, against the frightening uncertainty, the cold immensity of the changing world, women as well as men sought the comforting reality of home and children*[38].

The image of rich, comforting foods was not solely made up of traditional homestyle cooking but also emphasized their *convenience*—promoting highly-processed American name-brand foods to aid the demands on a busy housewife[39]. Edith Barber's *Silver Jubilee Super Market Cookbook* (1946) promotes mass produced supermarket food—which she terms "comfort food"—as a "patriotic privilege" and "our war-weary right" as Americans[40]. However, the conveniences and comforts brought forth by mass-produced processed food were not good enough to serve as is, as Crocker reminded housewives 'there must be an individual touch to produce good meals'[41]. This individual touch was the ingredient of motherly love; as public opinion saw serving food straight from the can to indicate an "unwomanly interest in providing for your family"[42]. The labour of a woman—the engagement of her body in the preparation of food—was necessary to render it comforting and homely.

Betty Crocker became not only the personification of patriotic home cooking but also the face of the ideal feminine model—made up by one of the largest name-brand food groups in America, General Mills. The celebration of uniquely American foods and practices was the overarching theme of *Betty Crocker's Picture Book* (1950). Food as a sign of national patriotism is seen throughout the text, making reference to the colonial period as the origins of American food practices as well as the inclusion of widely celebrated national figures[43]. For example, recipes and anecdotes associated to George Washington appear five times in the text. These inclusions are not of what George Washington cooked but what he liked to be *cooked for* him. For example, the use of his wife's recipe—"Martha Washington's

[38]Friedan, 1963: 183

[39]Years later, Friedan traced how male-dominated institutions like General Mills (as well as women's magazines, advertisers, educators and entertainment media) colluded to justify women's social and economic losses of the postwar period.

[40] Barber, 1946. Silver Jubilee Super Market Cook Book. xv

[41] General Mills, 1950. *Betty Crocker's Picture Cookbook*: vii

[42] Neuhaus, 1999: *The way to a man's heart: Gender roles, domestic ideology, and cookbooks in the 1950s*: 534

[43] Horner, 2000. *Betty Crocker's Picture Cookbook: A gendered Ritual Response to Social Crises of the Postwar Era*: 339

Colonial Chocolate Cake"[44]—oozes decadence while subtly stressing the importance of re-enacting and maintaining American domestic traditions. The recipe for "His Mother's Oatmeal Cookies"[45] conjures up an image of the selfless and nameless motherly love given to Washington, which, of course, is symbiotically connected to her presence in the kitchen. We see this motif play out in the phrases and expressions used in the book. No longer simply nutritious and wholesome, terms such as *hearty*, *warm*, *rich* and *made with the secret ingredient of love* all came to evoke the mythic image of the selfless American Housewife[46].

Furthermore, "His Mother's Oatmeal Cookies" are recommended as "beau-catchers (and husband keepers)"[47] which linked women's abilities in the kitchen to her sexual prowess—that a *way to a man's heart is through his stomach*. In such a way it renders the bodily practice of cooking as traditionally female and as essential to creating and maintaining a happy home. This motif is seen in other examples as well; "a homemaking heart gives her more appeal than cosmetics, the good things baked in the kitchen will keep romance far longer than bright lipstick"[48] written by a General Mills Home Economists in 1952.

Given the above, texts like Betty Crocker's dove deep into gender stereotypes and were considered, at the time, a manual for young women who had been working outside of the home and missed "the apprenticeship of the stove"[49]. The enthusiasm with which these women were encouraged to take up their apprenticeship is reflected in the sales support of the book. Acquiring these skills were not reserved just for domestic manuals for married women but were also incorporated into home economics courses in schools. Known as *homemaking*—which was, at least for Shapiro, an exercise in "domestic ideology indoctrination"—female education "codified" homemaking with a "witless and grim set of expectations" reinforcing what Shapiro terms the "ten commandments for girls"[50].

This is exemplified in the 1950 premiere of *The Betty Crocker Show* on CBS—based on the recipes in her newly published book—opened to an image of a mother and children in the kitchen with the words "homemaking, a woman's most rewarding way of life"[51]. Friedan saw the support of the "grim set of expectations" by women and educational institutions as the reason behind women being trapped in the home while men were able to make social and professional advances. Women were allured by the "feminine mystique"—a cultural phenomenon which justified limited choices to women on the basis of their supposed natural expressive, domestic, and maternal qualities:

[44] General Mills, 1950: 56
[45] General Mills, 1950: 174
[46]Additionally, for the first time masculine behaviour is linked to food, specifically to meat preparation and barbecuing". Additionally, adjectives like "husky", "clamp" and "fling" would be used in instructions, indicating and emphasizing an overtly masculine tone to the activity. This was also isolated to meat, indicating the primal connection between the two. In the same breath, this was also the first significant step toward sharing the responsibility of cooking (since pre-industrious times). See Neuhaus: 538-541
[47] Neuhaus, 1999
[48] op.cit.: 538
[49]Horner (2000) quotes Marling: 337
[50] Shapiro, L. *Perfection Salad.* 217
[51] op.cit.: 97

> *The American Housewife – freed by science and labour-saving appliances for the drudgery, the dangers of childbirth and the illnesses of her grandmother. She was healthy, beautiful, educated, concerned only about her husband, her children, her home. She had found true feminine fulfilment. As a housewife and mother, she was respected as a full and equal partner to man in his world…she had everything that women ever dreamed of*[52].

The idea of cooking and household chores as a fulfilling activity was embedded into cookbook ideology which communicated that the home was the centre of a woman's existence. Increasingly high standards were expected for both housework and cookery, turning them into full-time occupations, despite all the labour-saving gadgets which filled the postwar home[53].

This grim set of expectations resulted in many women isolated from the world outside, held captive by the mythic image of the American Housewife. Although subtly deployed in the recipe book, signs of this isolation are evident in the Crocker book. The introduction, in the form of a letter to "Dear Friends" promises to "bring a new high standard to the homemaking art". Additionally, it notes: "Betty Crocker's friends have always enjoyed stories of the origins of recipes and fascinating bits of food history, so they have been included in this cookbook"[54]. Marjorie Husted—the main woman behind the success of the Crocker Brand—noted in a 1952 speech "as I came to know more about women's lives, we added service more deeply needed—service built on increased understanding of the fundamental needs of women"[55]. It was the letters Husted read that gave her direct access to women's lives.

Here, the Crocker brand seems to be fostering what Leonardi and Theophano discuss as core aspects of recipe writing: the community in which recipes are embedded, contextualised and shared is imperative to its meaning. By the explicit use of narrative to give context and calling her readership community "friends"[56], the Crocker brand spoke to the social reality of domestic captivity, which Friedan spoke so clearly about as the condition "every suburban wife struggled with alone"[57]. Additionally, about one fifth of the recipes name the women from whom the recipe originates, identifying them as a married, a mother, or both[58] which enforces a silent community of women as well as a what *kind* of women constitutes the readership.

Husted further said that women's work "made no money, it often went unnoticed and it certainly carried no status—women needed a champion" (93). The isolation of suburban living was a "depressing mess", said Husted, "they needed someone to remind them they

[52] Friedan, 1963: 1
[53] Humble, 2015: *Culinary Pleasures: Cook Books and the Transformation of British Food*: 15
[54] General Mills. 1950: 5
[55] Shapiro, 2004: 92
[56] Horner, 2000: 338
[57] Friedan, 1999: 18
[58] Horner, 2000: 342

had value"[59]. In this light, the Crocker brand was implicit in creating a persona of the American Housewife and responded to the pleas of women struggling to meet the ideal.

Jean Duruz speaks of the duality to which twentieth century domesticity set women up as successes or failures, as good or bad mothers, constantly surveying their behaviour due to insecurity and the threat of doing it wrong, not meeting the *ideal.* Duruz tells the story of Helen, a 1950s housewife, and how femininity, for her, was, and still is, defined in terms of her skills as a housewife, especially as a cook[60]:

> *the making of a sponge spelt emotional crisis. Sponges failed to rise, listed to one side or fell before the very eyes of the guests. In the 1950s the sponge was more than a cake. It was proof of true womanhood*.

In a time in which a flopped cake would make a woman feel she had failed, Betty Crocker's recipes needed to be more reliable, they had to be fool proof against the casual errors of ordinary home cooks"[61]

Femininity is elusive indeed if it relies on the uncertain capacity of a sponge to rise. Moreover, with women in isolated positions—undervalued ones as Husted notes—associated with the daily rituals of feeding and caring, "delicious dainties" took on excessive symbolic significance. This was the public face of femininity, reduced to the biscuit tins in readiness for visitors, or the requisite "plate" for community gatherings, or the sponge that did not sink, proudly displayed for guests.

REBELLION

We see that by the end of the 1950s, the alluring image of the *American Housewife* prescribed in postwar texts was slowly losing its mystique, even by authors themselves. Cookbooks, even those which simultaneously reiterated normalized gender behaviour as "fulfilling" and the "most rewarding way of life", often addressed their text to the busy modern woman who needed convenient meals and did not wish to spend a great deal of time in the kitchen. Levenstein notes how advertising in the 1950s for certain labour-saving products portrayed "cooking as an interesting, nurturing, and creative pursuit" and, paradoxically, claimed that "new products, technology, and packaging would free women from this boring, unpleasant task"[62].

A statement from a Campbell's Soup executive who, in 1958, gave the following response to a question about postwar demand for "highly packaged" foodstuffs:

---

[59]Value was important to Husted because it was her own issue too. Husted faced issues in work— although she did more for sales than any other singular person in Gold Medal, she was paid four times less than its star salesman. See Shapiro, 2004: 93

[60]Duruz, 1999

[61]Shapiro, 2004: 91

[62]Levenstein 1993. *Paradox of Plenty: a Social History of Eating in Modern America*: 108

> *The average housewife isn't interested in making a slave of herself. When you do it day after day, [cooking] tends to get a little tiresome and that young housewife is really less interested in her reputation as a home cook today…She doesn't regard slaving in the kitchen as an essential of a good wife and mother*[63].

The author or editor's expectation that a woman might have interests outside of the tedious task of food preparation shows how many cookbooks from the 1950s contradicted their basic message about a woman's sacred domestic role.[64] Recipes in classic 1950s texts like that of the Crocker brand's were regarded by some as "far too fancy" and "tedious"[65], as texts began to show the general need not to cook elaborate meals and, as such, show the way in which popular culture was responding to the new social-realities of women.

As a result, Neuhaus posits, "cultural representations of 'traditional' women completely fulfilled by their roles as devoted and nurturing mothers spoke to the expectations or desires of society, not necessarily the reality."[66] Women began to rebel against the implied notion of a singular female domestic identity and, from the 1960s, we see more of a diverse narrative of womanhood than simply that of the *American Housewife.* For instance, cookbooks like Betty Crocker's offered little to the working woman, or women without the inclination to spend hours in the kitchen. However, the 1963 *The Working Wives (Salaried or Otherwise) Cookbook* specifically addressed the needs of women who continued to work outside of the home postwar. Released the same year as the *Feminine Mystique,* a text like this catered to the pressing needs of real women who did not prescribe to the American Housewife model.

And for those women who couldn't care less about the sponge rising or not Peg Bracken authored *The I Hate to Cook Book* in 1960, preceding *The Working Wives.* Subversively, Bracken suggested that women did not just tolerate cooking but hated it, demystifying the image Betty Crocker is representative of. Published prior to the *Feminine Mystique,* Bracken's book was a voice like no other at the time. Peg Bracken spoke for women who hated to cook or had other interests – challenging stereotypes of postwar housewives who worked exclusively at home and lovingly prepared meals for husbands and children[67]. The diversity Bracken's voice offered challenged the implicit silence of traditional roles as she unprecedentedly termed such as a "Woman's Burden", publicly showing hostility towards rigid role definition.

Bracken's Cookbook was wildly successful, suggesting that other women were also fed up with the American Housewife dream that was unfulfilling and desired an account of a more realistic postwar domestic identity. Through the use of humour, she made light of how she, and other women, failed to live up to the image of perfect wife and mother:

---

[63] op.cit.: 109
[64] Silva, 2000. *The Cook, the cooker and the gendering of the kitchen*
[65] Bracken, 1960
[66] Neuhaus, 1999: 537
[67] Salvio, 2012. Dishing It Out: Food Blogs and Post-Feminist Domesticity Author(s): 32

> *Some women, it is said, like to cook. This book is not for them. This book is for those of us who hate to, who have learned, through hard experience, that some activities become no less painful through repetition: childbearing, paying taxes and cooking. This book is for those of us who want to fold our big dishwasher hands around a dry Martini instead of a wet flounder, come the end of a long day*[68].

Her comical books were popular because they broke the stereotype that housewives were content with, and thrived on, their domestic responsibilities. Humorous titles for her chapters such as "Company's Coming (Or your back's to the wall)", "Last Minute Suppers (Or this is the story of your life)" articulated the increased pressures put on women to perform domestic duties as an act of selfless devotion and sheer fulfilment.

However, what still lies in these texts and what Bracken failed to question is that it is a women's innate responsibility to cook for her family: "even if you hate to cook, as a woman it would be your job to cook". Friedan found writing like Bracken's problematic due to the way it continued to perpetuate an image of women who "were wholly absorbed in the domestic". Friedan was concerned with how authors like Bracken hated domestic responsibilities yet "ignored their own professional success" in the industry responsible for prescribing such ideas as norms. Friedan neither enjoyed Bracken's humorous take on domestic duties nor respected her limiting views: "there is something about Housewife writers that isn't funny"[69]. But what Bracken did was bring a voice to popular publishing that broke the silence. She showed women that it was okay to not find deep fulfilment in domestic duties. She offered an alternative to the all-consuming and unattainable image of the American Housewife. She reduced the symbolic significance of "delicious dainties" with her dry humour and allowed women to see themselves as separate from their domestic duties.

The popular culture representations which, to us, seem to offer unambivalent images of the thoroughly domesticated women, actually present other kinds of evidence. According to Neuhaus, "the women who baked, basted, glazed and decorated throughout the postwar cookbooks were figments of the postwar imagination"[70]. They were expressions of desires and fears in a nation strained by the war and baffled by unstoppable social changes that shaped the 1950s. These women were as fictional as Betty Crocker and constructed for a very similar purpose: to soothe and reassure. The recipes and rhetoric of postwar cookbooks, by their continuous repetition, tell social historians a story of strained and tested gender norms. As postwar cookbooks stated over and over what woman's roles were in an attempt to re-condition women to accept and enjoy domestic labour[71].

[68]Bracken, 1960: 1
[69]Friedan, 1963: 57
[70]Neuhaus, 1999: 546
[71]op.cit.: 547

In the twentieth century, cookbooks were the voice of authority and recipes were the directions for appropriate behaviour. Cookbooks, in their efforts to seal up the growing cracks in gender ideology, actually left more traces and clues about just where the cracks had begun to show. The dominant discourse that positioned cooking and food preparation as a natural, deeply fulfilling activity for the *American Housewife* were strongly critiqued by women like Betty Friedan and Peg Bracken. Books like *Betty Crocker's Picture Book* were instruction manuals in attitudes and desires that *should* have been "natural to women"[72], which by the need to point them out shows how it was prescriptive of an ideal domestic persona rather than descriptive of a natural one. Although framed by the patriotic symbols of modernity and consumerism (in contrast to those of the Old World 'peasant' kitchen). The *American Housewife* is a mythical figure resonant of particular foods and encouraging particular narratives of nurturing. The addition of "romance"' and "sexual appeal" to food's symbolism adds the layer of women-as-wife to her domesticity identity in the twentieth century[73].

Women's distressed confessions of how they could not live up to a domestic ideal, their anxiety about being unable to be the 'perfect' wife and mother, would evolve into active, organised resistance to that ideal. This pervasive social illness, which Betty Friedan characterized as "the problem that has no name," arose not among women who found that their labour brought no emotional satisfaction, but among women who found that their work was invested with emotional weight far out of proportion to its inherent value.

[72] Forty, 1986: 98
[73]Neuhaus, 1999: 540

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CAPE MALAY COOK AND THE COLONIAL KITCHEN

The previous chapters looked at the strong articulation of the female in the home in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although problematic on an ideological level, what these books do offer us is an account of the *presence* of women in the home. In particular, western (white) women are seen as active participants in culinary matters and essential to the maintenance of culture; esteemed for their role in fostering tradition and family life. This chapter, by contrast, looks at the South African colonial home[1], a space in which slaves and servants – women of colour –conducted the same domestic duties but were rendered invisible and unacknowledged for their cultural contributions. Nevertheless, a fusion cuisine developed in the perilous intimacies of the slave-holding household - termed *Cape Malay* food – combining Asian, European and indigenous customs.

This chapter highlights how culinary traditions absorb and carry traces of their encounters. In addition, given that the history of slave contributions is poorly documented, the continued enactment and cooking of Cape Malay cuisine serves as the memory and testimony of slaves presence and influence in the Cape. By looking beyond the visible, this chapter does its best to trace the complex history of *Cape Malay* cuisine in the Cape Colony of South Africa, especially looking at the places in which female slaves and servants were visible and agents of cultural exchange. Focusing specifically on the private and published writings of Louis C Leipoldt[2] – and depending substantially on South African poet and scholar Gabeba Baderoon's writing which deals with the historical depiction of the Cape Malay figure[3] – this section looks at the "Cape Malay cook" and how, through subtle and subversive forms of resistance, she imbued European settlers' traditional cuisine with her own culinary traditions. These acts have come to inform our patriotic understanding of an authentic South African cuisine.

[1]This discussion starts in the seventeenth century when slaves we first brought to the Cape. In particular, it looks at Leipoldt's commentary on South African cuisine in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Leipoldt's writing was the first *published* book of its kind and, coupled with the study of his private archive collection, it offers much to the public-private discussion.

[2]Here, a close reading of the National Libraries collection of Dutch, Afrikaans and English recipe manuscripts as well as Arabic-Afrikaans kietaabs suggests the possibilities opened by privately written recipe collections in illuminating much larger trans-oceanic connections in South African culinary history.

[3] The discussion of the Cape Malay figure is the central motif to Baderoon's academic work. Her papers mentioned in the introduction (2002, 2005, 2007, 2009) were incredibly helpful to this inquiry.

HISTORY OF CAPE COLONY

Known as *patriotically* South African today, the Cape Malay cuisine reveals a definitive intertwined legacy of the slave kitchen. Most common dishes include *bredies* (stews), *curries*, *babotie* (a strongly spiced vegetable and rice dish)[4], *frikkadels* (minced meatballs), *blatjang* (chutney), *ingelede vis* (pickled fish), *koeksyster* (sweet pastry) and *milktert* (cinnamon spiced tart). These dishes, along with others, are predominantly a mixture of traditional Dutch cuisine with Indo-Asian flavour profiles and have emerged as the most famous example of creole cuisine[5] in South Africa.

Fusion cuisine thus has a new dynamic currency of its own. It moves beyond the hybrid mixing of two separates that remain statically similar. Gabeba Baderoon's writing sees creole culture as relative to a specific historical crossing of cultural borders as she says Malay food is a "place, time – a language"[6]. "Malay" refers not to geographical origin of enslaved people brought to the Cape, but to a larger geographical reality.

In 1652, the Dutch East India Company established a colony at the Cape, mainly as a port to provide its ships with fresh food and water along the spice trade route. From 1658, slaves were brought to the Cape to provide labour for the settlement, and soon the trade in slaves and spices jointly drove the shipping routes from the East[7]. During this period, slaves came to the Cape from the Dutch colonies in South East Asia as well as from the East African ports the Dutch passed along the way, joining indigenous Khoi-San people of the Cape were too were subjugated by the Dutch settlers[8]. The name "Malay" therefore came to refer a diversified group of people brought from many territories around the Indian ocean meaning "slave, Muslim[9] and Khoi"[10].

Cooking and other domestic work was the most common reason for keeping slaves. By the 1820s two-thirds of the approximately six thousand slaves in the Cape performed domestic

---

[4]In 1994, under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, South Africa became a democracy. Termed the *Rainbow Nation* (due to the range of indigenous, European and creole cultures in the country) our national heritage prides itself on diversity. Since then, Babotie has been our national dish which speaks to Abrahams' notion of a truly African cuisine (discussed later).

[5]In order to be considered *creole*: a language or food needs to be used across more than one generation, in which it becomes fully adopted by one of the two contributors as indigenous (part of the self). This definition came from https://www.quora.com/Whats-the-difference-between-Creoles-and-mixed-hybrid-languages. General concept discussed by Gabaccia (1998), Davids (1990), Dietler (2007), Bell & Valentine (1997), Nugent (2010).

[6] Baderoon, 2002: 11

[7] Baderoon, 2009: 89

[8]From 1806, when Britain gained rule over the colony, political prisoners from India were brought across for indentured labour. Here, another culture was allotted into an already eclectic group of subjugates.

[9] The term "Muslim" used in Cape Town has a specific valency. The word has gained meaning in Cape Town in the contexts of slavery, colonialism and apartheid. During the period of slavery, Muslim slaves and political prisoners came from India, Indonesia and what is now Malaysia, but also from other parts of Africa and the Middle East. However, under Afrikaner Nationalism (which lead to the Apartheid system in the twentieth century) subsumed this variety of origins and practices into a single identity. See Baderoon, 2002.

[10] Baderoon, 2009: 98

work[11]. Anthropologist Michael Dietler (2007) discusses how food has been a constantly prominent medium for the enactment of colonialism[12], to which the colonial domestic space can be seen as highly politicised. Due to this, the colonial kitchen is vitally important in understanding how fusion cuisines, and subsequent broader cultural practices, are formed. Due to the nature of work done by the majority of slaves in the Cape, the relationship between slave holder and slave was intimate and much of their contact happened in the kitchen. Female slaves were responsible for the preparation of meals, work at which Malay women excelled, earning a good reputation among Dutch (and later English) masters.

In the colonial kitchen, a pidgin language known as *kombuistaal* (literally meaning kitchen language) was a derogatory term used for the combination of Arabic, indigenous Khoi-San language and Dutch. It also became the language used between the diverse group of Malays. In a way this fusion echoes Baderoon's earlier statement that "food is like a language". Furthermore, apart from the minority of indigenous Khoi-San who experienced labour conditions similar to slavery, the colonial kitchen was a space in which book the cook and the eater were not on home soil, and in which both were longing for tastes and smells from home. So, while being instructed to cook either Dutch or English dishes, what emerged was a creole cuisine – Cape Malay food – as Indo-Asian spices and cooking techniques were invited into the kitchen and the stomachs of their masters.

This suggests – contrary to traditional views of colonial activity - both a tolerance, a curiosity and a willingness to digest; an exchange which was only possible by the intimate space of the colonial kitchen. The *intimate* space is important because in order for foreign foods to be desired and used, they must always be imbued with culturally relevant meaning locally. In such a way, the by-product of the colonial kitchen was a "cultural stew" – to quote Donna Gabaccia – in which we quite willingly "eat the other"[13]. It addresses myths around one-directional cultural exchange within the hierarchical setting of the Cape Colony. Nevertheless, what becomes evident is that both women and the domestic space were crucial to the formation of a new creole culture.

Linked to this, Nupur Chaudhuri observed the role that Victorian women played in nineteenth century Colonial India as "agents of cultural exchange between coloniser and colonised" in which Victorian women domesticated the *other*[14].However, it appears that in the Cape Colony, Malay cooks were the agents of such cultural exchange. This is supported by Baderoon's research into the relationship between English cuisine in South Africa and Cape Malay.

[11]Mason, 2003. *Social death and resurrection: slavery and emancipation in South Africa*: 108

[12] According to Dietler (2007), the focus on food holds great analytical promise to understand colonial situations and their transformative effects on identity. It can be one of the most tangible forms of cultural identification. In this way, looking at the historical layers to the Cape Malay cuisine functions as an "archaeological dig". See Dietler's paper: *Culinary Encounters: Food, Identity and Colonialism*. In particular: 218

[13]Gabaccia, 1998. *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans*: 11

[14]Zlotnick (1996) cites Nupur Chaudhuri: 52. Zlotnick further writes: "by virtue of their own domesticity, Victorian women could neutralize the treat of the Other by naturalising the products of foreign lands": 53

Although there are common ingredients between the English and Cape Malay cuisine, it is the style and the flavour used that determines distinctive characteristics[15] of a cuisine. Baderoon's research further notes that Malay cooks transform the British practice of keeping ingredients separate (a lamb cutlet, a roast potato, a carrot), encouraging instead their native practice of *mixing*. Built into the culture of the cuisine is an openness[16].

South African cook, Cass Abrahams' notes that there was additionally the contribution of indigenous Khoi and San people who shared their knowledge of indigenous food resources. According to Abrahams, this combination of ingredients, histories and traditions makes Cape Malay cooking a "food from Africa"[17]. Cass Abrahams writes that the "contents, methods and rituals of Cape Malay food demonstrate its development under slavery… Cape Malay food is among the earliest fusion food in South Africa"[18]

Furthermore, among slaves themselves, the Malay language, cuisine and culture was a *lingua franca.* Additionally, an important factor to the import of Indo-Asian culture and its food is the history of the Muslim religion among slaves in the Cape. This history requires some exploration as it provides a backdrop to the landscape of culture and cuisine.

Indo-Asian culture is intricately connected to Islam because majority of the slaves brought to the Colony came from Muslim origins. There was a high rate of conversion among indigenous people at the Cape, since Islam offered "a degree independent slave culture" separate from that of slave-owners[19]. What emerged was the adoption of a culture that was a sign of rebellion against Euro-Christian dominance.

Additionally, under the Statutes of India through which the Dutch governed the Cape Colony, the public practice of Islam was punishable by death, and Islam was forced to survive through "hidden practices of subversion by slaves, shaping communal relations, language, and food rituals that survive among descendants of slaves"[20]**.** The adoption of the culture by a diverse group became a subtle form of resistance to the established culture of slave masters.

However, when the British denounced the practice of Dutch law in the Cape Colony in the early nineteenth century, Dutch settlers – known by then as Afrikaners - *trekked* out of the Cape Colony and established their republics in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. With this move,

[15]Rozin and Rozin (1981) extends this definition with the concept of flavour profiles: "The culturally elaborated food practices that constitute a cuisine comprise: (1) the selection of a set of basic (staple or secondary) foods, (2) the frequent use of a characteristic set of flavourings, (3) the characteristic processing of such foods, (4) and the adoption of a variety of rules dealing with acceptable foods and combinations, festival food, and the social context of eating and the symbolic uses of food." Cited by Wack, 2018. Recipe-Collecting, Embodied Imagination, and Transatlantic Connections in an Irish Emigrant's Cooking: 111

[16]According to Baderoon, 2002: "Muslim food' is both highly specific and quite fluid. It appears as an umbrella term for various histories and influences. In reality, Muslim food is Cape Town is open, permeable": 8

[17]Abrahams. 1995. *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay: Food from Africa.*

[18] op.cit.: ix

[19] op.cit. cites Worden, 2004: 14

[20] op.cit., 2009: 92

the Dutch and Huguenot settlers took up *kombuistaal*, which was renamed Afrikaans, as a form of resistance against the English. It is here that the culture developed by Malay women in the colonial kitchen was culturally appropriated to now serve the modern Afrikaner as an *authentic* South African cuisine. What followed was a series of ideological projects in the nineteenth and twentieth century – known locally as Afrikaner Nationalism – which attempted (quite successfully) to subsume the historical origins of the newly adopted culture and its associated practices[21].

Louis C Leipoldt's writing aimed at contesting this cultural appropriation. In *Cape Cookery,* Leipoldt gives voice to Cape Malay women as the cultural agents of the fusion cuisine. While remaining unpublished for years, Leipoldt attributed the colonial kitchen and the women who resided in the space as the artists that shaped Cape cookery, one that an emerging Afrikaner national rhetoric was slowly erasing:

> *"I assisted…at the culinary operations of a very expert Coloured woman cook who bore the reputation of being one of the best in the Cape Colony…She presided over a kitchen whose cleanliness could have served as a model for an operating theatre… The Ayah's art was the result of many years of instruction and experience in the traditional methods of Malay cookery, whose outstanding characteristics are the free, almost heroic, use of spices and aromatic flavourings, the prolonged steady, but slow, application of moist heat to all meat dishes, and the skilful blending of many diverse constituents into a combination that still holds the essential goodness of each. Her dishes, that were eaten by Governors, Prime Ministers and Very Important Persons, were made from old recipes that were firmly enshrined in her memory, for she never referred to written or printed directives…*[22]

Numerous themes are presented here. Firstly, we see the esteem Leipoldt holds the Malay cook to, which renders both her and her work visible. The title of his book "Cape Cookery" – a collection filled with recipes relating to the work of Muslim Malay women – reconfigures the history and culinary culture of the Cape Colony around the slave, rendering the Dutch and British colony influence as subsidiary. Later the discussion moves over the way "recipes were firmly enshrined in her memory" which suggest written directives were of little value or impossible to form. While this is seen as part of the loss of recognition and acknowledgement, the National Library of South Africa's manuscripts offer some tangible traces of slave visibility in the kitchen[23].

[21]The legacy of slavery can be seen today in the similar dishes within the two traditions with different names, such as the cinnamon-spiced milk drink known in Muslim Malay cooking as "boeber" and as "melkkos" in the Afrikaans tradition (Abrahams, 1995:46). A further phenomenon indicating connections between the two food traditions is the use of the same names for different dishes, for example, "the plaited sugar-glazed doughnut-like sweet in Afrikaans cooking known as the 'koeksister' and as a 'koesister' in Muslim cooking" (Baderoon, 2009:100).

[22]Leipoldt, L. 1976: *Leipoldt's Cape Cookery*: 5

As seen above, the opening of Leipoldt's *Cape Cookery* greets his audience with the image of the Malay cook in a vastly different light to popularly held opinion:

> *In the old days a Malay cook was regarded as indispensable for the household that wished to entertain; slaves who had knowledge of this kind of cookery commanded a far higher price than other domestic chattels*[24].

He speaks of an authority that places the Malay cook at the centre: as she is "indispensable" and "commands" to be seen for her ability. Similarly, South African Literary scholar Riaan Oppelt offers an interesting account of how Leipoldt's private writings on food and slavery were explored in his published novels. Leipoldt grew up in a colonial home, in which "his Ayah's Art" – referring to Ayah Hannah, a cape Malay woman who worked in Leipoldt's childhood home – introduced Leipoldt to food and ignited his love for it. In *The Valley Trilogy* – written by Leipoldt - drew on a personal experience with Ayah Hannah, where, as a child, taking about the preparation of mortar to include in a curried meat dish… "Politely and humbly…she said: 'My basie', it is to get the soul of it and into the meat'"[25]. Leipoldt had an acute awareness to the processes and methods of preparing cape Malay food as essential to its success, echoing work earlier by Baderoon. In a relationship that usually sees the dehumanisation of the slave cook in the colonial kitchen, by referring to the processes as "getting the soul out of it and into the meat" Leipoldt humanises Ayah Hannah, valuing both her and the way she cooks.

At the same time, we also see the inherent power dynamic of race within the colonial kitchen as Hannah refers to the child (Leipoldt) as "my Basie" (meaning my boss) in a polite and humble manner[26]. Furthermore, Leipoldt depicts slave women as a docile and subservient who "politely and humbly" addresses him. Insomuch as Leipoldt's gives voice to Cape Malays through the quotes of Ayah Hannah and by his view of them as the commanders of the space, they are still chained to the kitchen in his depictions of them. Nor does he challenge the route which highly skilled cooks and the spices of the dishes they prepared took, lacking any commentary on slavery (which, according to Oppelt, is surprising given his humanitarian stance in most writings, particularly in *The Valley* trilogy)[27].

Nevertheless, Leipoldt imbues the usually invisible Cape Malay cook with a sense of agency and authority not usually found in writings of the time. He renders the Cape Malay cook an artist, a "historical gatekeeper of food culture"[28]. When discussing different approaches to fruit preparation, Leipoldt wrote:

---

[24]Leipoldt: 2004: 22

[25]Oppelt, 2012. *Louis Leipoldt and the Role of the "Cape Malay" in South African Cookery*: 59, quoting Leipoldt, 1976: 242

[26] Important to note that although the discussion of Malay cuisine runs on a culture of openness and mixing, the power relations should not be subsumed into a reified vision of mutual influence in the slave kitchen.

[27]Oppelt, 2012: 59

[28]op.cit., 2012: 63

> *In preparing fruit for the table, the old Malay cooks drew on their experience with tropical fruit. They hardly ever boiled fruit in water; they recognised that most fruits contain enough water to allow gentle steaming if one wanted to cook them*[29]

Here Leipoldt sees that, while preparing fruit for the colonial table, the method and process of preparing the fruit was based on the tradition of the Malay cook and not on the European tradition of stewing fruit. This was a small assertion of power and insertion of culture into the colonial home. Baderoon cites Michel de Certeau in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984) in which he theorises on subversions that play on "the notions of invisibility"[30], stating that in unequal power relations there can exist an "ambiguous" space in which objects can be destablished by the "powerless" to disguise their resistance to the dominant figures in a society (2004:15). This kind of resistance is:

> *devious, it is dispersed, but it insinuated itself everywhere, silently and almost subtly, because it does not manifest itself through its own products but rather through its ways of using the products imposed by the dominant economic order*[31]

Similarly, Baderoon makes the point that, among other things, Leipoldt's use of the word "heroic" lends itself to the notion that cooks, as either slaves or servants, were the masters of the kitchen; they used their skill at "combining flavours as a significant claim of control – mastery and freedom over the domain which fell beneath the surveillance of slave owners"[32]. The "free" use of spices by slaves is in itself a sign of how the colonial kitchen transcended distinct colonial hierarchies and practices and represents the only "free[dom]" they had at the time. In this way, the colonial kitchen can be viewed as a site of small resistances "encoded into tastes, sound, touch, glances, and smells"[33]. Here slaves learned not only how to survive but gathered a small store of subjectivity and resistance. The kitchen is where slaves on the farm attain presence, stare silently back at the slave-owner, or reclaim time by carrying out their orders at a pace that infuriates their masters[34]. Furthermore, the most identifiable reading of the "codification of cultural exchange"[35] – the gazing back and visibility of the Malay cook – resulted in the continued desire for and adoption of the use of spices in of the Malay women by the Afrikaans from the mid-nineteenth century[36].

---

[29]Leipoldt, 1976: 166
[30]Baderoon, 2004: 15
[31]De Certeau (1984) in Baderoon 2004: 16
[32]op.cit., 2004: 15
[33]op.cit., 2009: 99
[34]Unlike the work of Baderoon (and others), Leipoldt does not make the case for the processes and agency Malay women held in the kitchen as begin subtle forms of resistance and does not see the "free, heroic" use of spices as an assertion of subservient culture into a dominant one. What he neglects to discuss is that the "artistry" of coloured cooks developed under and possibly as a response to slavery and servitude in a world where Cape Afrikaners and English settlers were the masters.
[35]Baderoon, 2004: 9. Additionally Bhabha's notion of "gazing back", presented by Baderoon (2009), becomes particularly interesting in the conversation of the colonial kitchen.
[36]op.cit., 2009: 99.

This does open up how Malay food can be read to encode other, dissonant meanings. It can be a way of recovering the presence of slave lives as well as a silent yet conscious strategic move that embedded their culture and food in Africa. In this way, Muslim food at the Cape and its practices may constitute *the* record of slave agency and a presence which, South African scholar Sandile Dikeni points out, is so elusive in the written histories of the Cape. By both the significance of the kitchen as a mediating space (where both self and other retain presence) and the repeating the trope of abundant spices famously associated with Muslim cooking by Leipoldt, "the silent object of the gaze insistently renders observable the mechanism of visibility and its connection to the past. In this way, the female body in the kitchen "gazes back"[37].

Lastly, Leipoldt's words "enshrined in her memory" speaks to Dikeni's premise that the culinary practice *is* the historical record of the female slave in the colonial kitchen[38]. Part of the historical invisibility lies in little recorded evidence as Cape Malay cooks like Ayah "never referred to written or printed directives". In Leipoldt's scheme, the practice of oral tradition is more important to the culture of Cape Malay cuisine. When discussing *bredies,* Leipoldt claims:

> *A bredie tests the cook's skill not only in blending, but also regarding that subtle aptitude that experience alone can make perfect – to decide when the margin between perfection and over-cooking has been reached*[39]

Here, Leipoldt prides the cape Malay cook on her "subtle aptitude that experience alone" brings. He determines here that the route to perfectly cooked bredie is through experience and bodily knowledge (over the use of a recipe).

However, unlike the journey of lineage and legacy in chapter one, in which women's writings offered us an account of their presence in the home, the domestic servant in the colonial kitchen is rather absent from historical writings. Two interesting archives in the National Library offer small yet tangible traces of "The Malay Cook" visible in cookery writing. Saarah Jappie's master's thesis – which focuses on Islamic manuscripts, locally referred to as *kietaabs*, written by Muslims predominantly in the nineteenth century – offered much to this inquiry[40]. Jappie notes that these manuscripts were written in *jawi* – an Arabic-Malay and Arabic-Afrikaans language specific to the Cape Colony[41]. Her thesis refers to two collections of Arabic-Afrikaans texts donated by Dr Achmat Davids at the NLSA. Achmat Davids collection shows that the earliest Afrikaans texts were written in Arabic script which – along with Jappie's research – is compelling evidence that Afrikaans originated as the language of the kitchen.

---

[37]Baderoon, 2009: 101

[38] op.cit., 2007 cites Dikeni: 121

[39]Leipoldt, 1976: 96

[40]Jappie, 2011: *From Madrasah to Museum: A biography of the Islamic Manuscripts of Cape Town*.

[41]Jappie's thesis provides further evidence – through the *jawi* creole language she writes of – that the history of Muslim and Malay culture in the Cape was one of open borders in which it adopted and adapted to the culture of the environment. It further reinforces the idea that the kitchen was a space of mediation through both language and cooking.

The content of Kietaabs are mainly that of religious scripture and educational teachings. However, both Jappie and my own findings seem to reveal a list of spices and ingredients for a dish but no method. This list was written in the corners of filled pages as religious and educational writing as the main intention for recording. There are a number of possible reasons for such, some speculative others factual. Malay cuisine would have been taught through observation and experience, intuitively led rather than prescriptively led as it is a particularly western practice to write and record culinary practices (constituents of an archive), whereas other cultures rely on oral tradition, likened to an archive-of-the-mind, or as Leipoldt himself says, "enshrined in her memory". As the intent for forceful migration was for slave labour, literacy was limited, and such materials may have been seen as luxuries or forbidden by slave-owners.

However, the presence of *kietaabs* in the Cape questions whether ideological difference is the reason for the absence of written culinary knowledge. Rather, I posit that it is gendered differences that govern their absence. Although female cooking practices were and continue to be intuitively-led forms of embodied knowledge – I think there is a silent truth hidden in the marginal recording of cooking practices in Muslim *kietaabs* of the Cape Colony. Other plausible reasons could be that they were destroyed when found, or that more tangible traces exist of origins of Malay cuisine but – true to the nature of female manuscripts and what Jappie herself found – they were safeguarded by the family and existed outside of reachable spaces of the other.

Secondly, Leipoldt's manuscript collection[42] offers some spaces in which the female domestic servant's presence is recorded. Among the collections I explored from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, recipes were found for *blatjang* (chutney), *frikkadel* (minced meat ball), *koeksister* (sweet pastry), *melktart* (cinnamon infused tart) and *'ingelede fis'* (pickled fish). All of these recipes made reference to the use of cinnamon, cumin, coriander, pepper or salt – all originating from Asia (India and China).

Furthermore, in *Cape Cookery,* Leipoldt references the role of manuscripts in cultural exchange*: The directions [for blatjang] are identical with those of some of the earlier manuscript recipesand show how closely East Indian methods were followed at the Cape*[43].

The reference by Leipoldt to "earlier manuscript recipes" shows, on one hand, that Leipoldt's manuscript collection was a space that informed his published writing of the tangible evidence of female malay cooks as cultural agents of exchange. On the other hand, it suggests that he himself saw books like *kietaabs*– the "earlier manuscripts" - that housed recipes for blatjang (and more). The "close[ness]" between Afrikaans and Malay cooking that Leipoldt points out

[42]The cultural practice of archiving recipes and the privileged means to do so sees the Dutch, Afrikaans and English recipe collections from the National Library of South Africa as important sites for the recording of cape Malay recipes. My research focused more on the English recipe books, but for this section I did look at some of the Dutch and Afrikaans collections. My language barrier got in the way of rigorously investing these sources.

[43]Leipoldt,1976: 21

casts light on false notions of culture as impenetrable – a view held by European elites in colonies from at least the nineteenth century. This sense of impenetrable borders is contrasted by the philosophy of Cape Malay cuisine, which embodies the relational and permeable borders of culture and has always defined itself as "open and permeable"[44]

In his late-nineteenth and early twentieth century magazine food writing, Leipoldt often criticised his readership about needing[45] to follow *Afrikaner* recipes for these dishes, almost as a metaphor for their appropriation of the practices (that, historically, slave-master men and women were not active member participants in the kitchen who developed a truly authentic fusion cuisine but rather enjoyed what was cooked for them). This suggest that the roots of the practice come from embodied knowledge and that the inclusion and adaption of the creole cuisine into the Afrikaner cuisine was done through the physical recording of it. At the same time these traces, both in archived manuscripts and in published cookbooks, albeit subliminal, do make the Cape Malay cook visible and document her as an "agent of cultural exchange". However, the fact that such writing remained private and was only published posthumously indicates that Leipoldt seemed less driven in pursuing any great representation of the non-Afrikaners he acknowledges as the artists behind authentic south African food.

Some of the earliest cookbooks published in South Africa are A. G. Hewitt's *Cape Cookery* (1889) and Hildagonda Duckitt's *Hilda's "Where is it?" of Recipes- containing, amongst other practical and tried recipes, many old Cape, Indian, and Malay dishes and preserves; also directions for polishing furniture, cleaning silk, etc., and a collection of home remedies in case of sickness'* (1891), both of which contained Malay and East Indian recipes such as "breedee" (stew) and "blatjang" (chutney). Unlike Leipoldt's view - that if any culture were to be seen as having some authoritative stamp on South African cuisine, it would not be from any of the white populous but from the "Cape Malay" people - Hewitt and Duckitt's recipe texts were a source of enduring tropes about Muslim cooking in South Africa[46].

Leipoldt sees Hewitts book as the "first accurate account of local recipes"[47], as Afrikaans and Dutch cookbooks had appropriated and claimed much of the work of the Malay cook as their own. Leipoldt was intent upon ridding the available local literature on South African food of Afrikaner stamps of authority. Much of the Leipoldt's discourse in *Cape Cookery* seems intent on giving recognition to the role of the Malay influence on Cape Food, as well as showing how the literature of Cape cooking available at the time owed much to this truth. He pointed towards the decolonising of cooking literature.

By looking at what lies beyond the visible, we see the role the colonial kitchen plays in this process. Operating as a 'third space' – between master and subjugate – the colonial kitchen

[44]Baderoon, 2002: 8
[45]Leipoldt frequently wrote in the South African magazine *Huisgenoot* cookery column between 1910-1930. Seen both in his personal papers and written up by Oppelt (2012).
[46]Baderoon, 2009:102
[47]Leipoldt, 1976: 23

becomes an important site for cultural exchange and the formation of a new, distinct culture in the Cape. While female Malay cooks were located in a historically invisible space, this inquiry into the kitchen – and the written records produced within it - offers counter-narratives to the established rhetoric of Dutch colonialism and Afrikaner nationalism. Leipoldt's writing can be read as a way of attributing much of South Africa's culinary culture to the silent and unacknowledged work of the slave women in the colonial kitchen. By speaking of the cuisine and the cooks with high esteem – one in which she commands a sense of authority and skill – he rehumanises the Cape Malay female slave and reattributes our culinary culture to its truthful roots. His book partially assimilated his recipes with his outspoken social commentary against the rising Afrikaner nationalism.

Furthermore, historically, these narrative traces have lain in the hands of women. As the keepers of culture, the continuity of traditions and extensions into new novel cuisines can be attributed to the work of women. When considering the exportation of middle-class British domesticity to South Africa or the Malays' cooking in the colonial kitchen, the continuation of tradition, cultural authenticity and the subsequent stories that accompany such – irrespective of which side of the border you lie – women cultivate, maintain and negotiate culinary culture in their kitchens.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DOMESTIC DIARY: PERSONAL AND GRAND NARRATIVES OF MY MOTHER'S RECIPE BOOK

Figure 14: Curled Edges, Sandra Carew, *Manuscript recipe book* (author photo)

MY MOTHER'S RECIPE BOOK

With its humble and nondescript cover, my mother's recipe book could easily be misjudged as simply an old, tatty exercise book. The well-worn black hard cover book—with a broken red spine—has been a part of my upbringing for as long as I can remember. It is now forty years old since my mother began crafting it, in 1980, at the age of nineteen. She was completing her studies at the Teacher's training college that year and preparing to move from a small inland town, Pietermaritzburg, to Cape Town, where she and my father married shortly thereafter (1983). Since then, my family moved to our Johannesburg home the year I born (1993) and—along with many memories in our beautifully old, wooden suburban house—is the unwavering knowledge that my Mom's recipe book lives in the corner cupboard of the kitchen, under the sink, standing next to the vases.

Figure 15: Front cover, Sandra Carew, *Manuscript recipe book* (author photo)

Here, it almost appears to be waiting patiently for the return of a familiar hand. As I pull out the A4 dishevelled book, the exterior shell just manages to remain intact with the help of three roughly placed pieces of duct tape, and the once square corners of the book have rounded and frayed with time. Alphabetical tabs run down the right-hand-side, curled and creased in places. A wad of loose, crinkled sheets seem to mischievously peek out the side and, no matter how long since my last visit, the preview offered by these small exposures curiously draws me in. Some of these are to do with cooking—magazine tear outs and internet print out recipes—but most are not, as over the years my mother has developed an eclectic collection of her children's drawings, homework activities, my cousin's wedding invitation, medical receipts that double as shopping lists (and even a piece of absorbent towel), almost picking up a trial of the small, passing moments in day to day life.

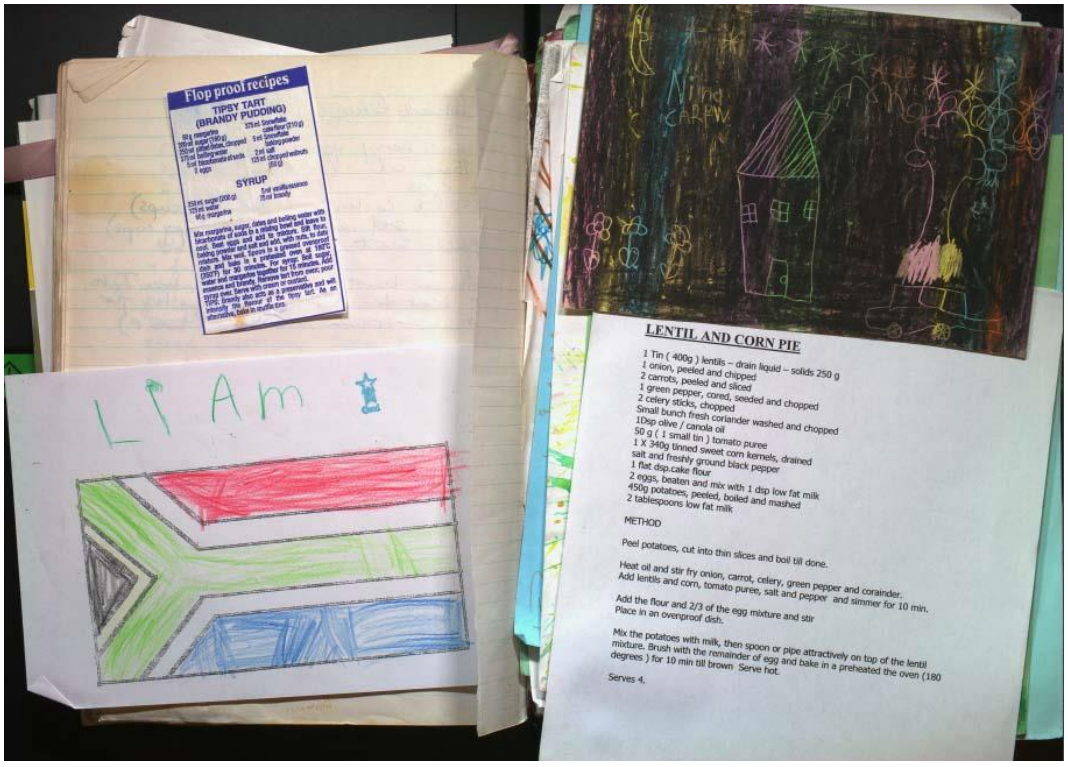


Figure 16: Loose Papers, Sandra Carew, *Manuscript recipe book* (author photo)

Along with the curled corners and tatty spine, signs of time passing are evident by the remnants of what has come before. With no ownership note, the reverse of the front cover has an old, yellowed rectangular glue border for a recipe that once was but is no longer. It now serves as a frame for a jotted recipe for "salad dressing" in my father's hand—with alterations in my mother's hand—along with a pencil inscription "Newman's Garden Birds for a 'safe spray for aphids'" (figure 17). Amongst others, the page is heavily stained by oil and wet ingredient splatters, often seeping through one page and onto another**,** smudging or fully erasing tidbits of

text. Heavily stained and yellowing pages in themselves may not be marked by written accounts but, rather, authored by the ingredients of the pot or mixing bowl. Similarly, the effect of the ingredients on the pages have, on occasion, poetically run the blue fountain pen ink or smudged entries as they were written near a hot stove. On others, the text on the reverse reveals itself through the fragile nature of the well-worn paper.

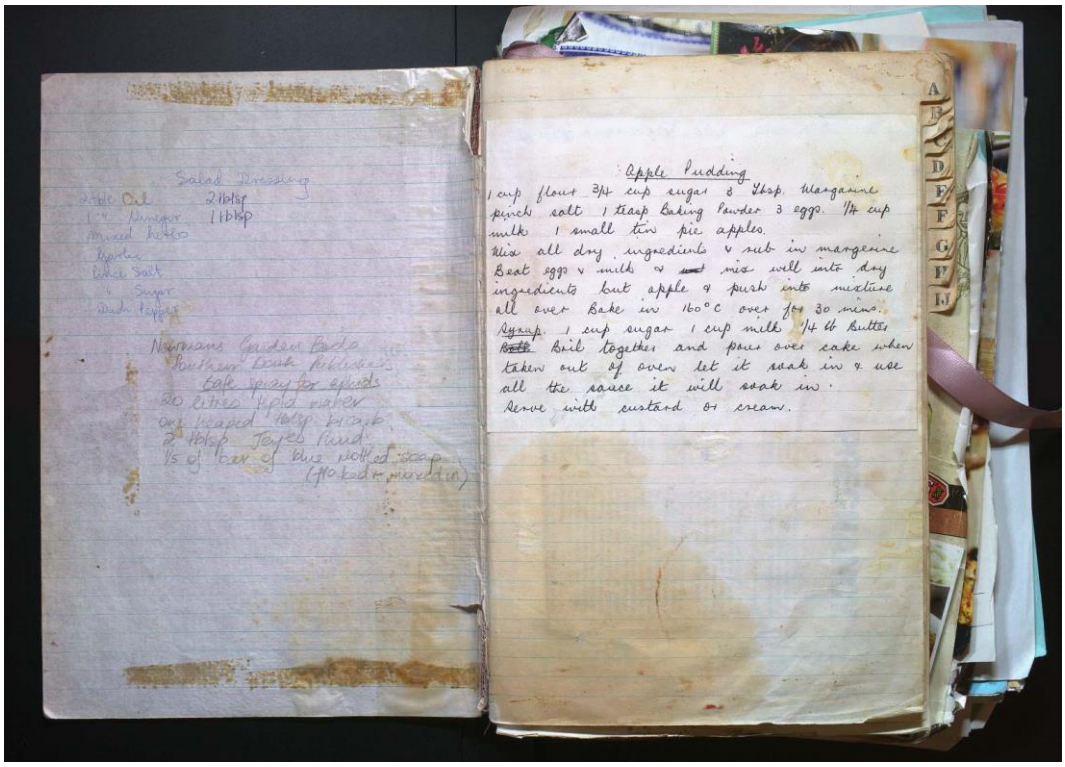


Figure 17: Recipe for Apple Pudding, Sandra Carew, *Manuscript recipe book* (author photo)

Along with the array of loose sheets, a prominent feature of my mother's homemade book is that it serves as a meeting point for material that she wants to hold onto. She purposefully crafts these in at a later stage, turning the book into a "storehouse of memories"[1]. Although not always hand-written, she does effectively "write with scissors"[2] as a substantial proportion of her collection is made up of photocopied recipes from my maternal grandmother and great-grandmother. The first page introduces this trait as a stuck in photostat for "apple pudding" written in my Nana's perfect cursive style.[3] Along with these, even heavier reliance is on faded and yellowed recipes typed out on a typewriter from my maternal great-grandmother's original recipes[4].Most of these recipes reflect a traditional English fare as my great-grandmother, Leslie

[1]Sutton & Hernandez, 2007. *Voices in the Kitchen: Cooking tools as inalienable possessions*: 71
[2]Wack, 2018: 106
[3]Other recipes written in my nana's hand are lightly scattered throughout the book, including *beef stroganoff, chocolate mousse* and her infamous *macaroni and cheese.*
[4]Around a quarter of the fixed content, these recipes mark a strong culinary connection between my great-grandmother and my mother. Some of the more popular recipes include *Christmas cake, Yorkshire pudding,*

Edie Patterson, was the second generation of English settlers who arrived in South Africa in the mid nineteenth-century. She married into South African Scottish lineage, which informs how my grandmother's—Colleen McKenzie (later Colleen Emmerich)—culinary heritage is shaped by Anglo-Celtic tradition. At the same time, they connect to the future too as unfilled pages allow for the possibility of future writings and the book itself always offers the possibility for enactment/use at any time.

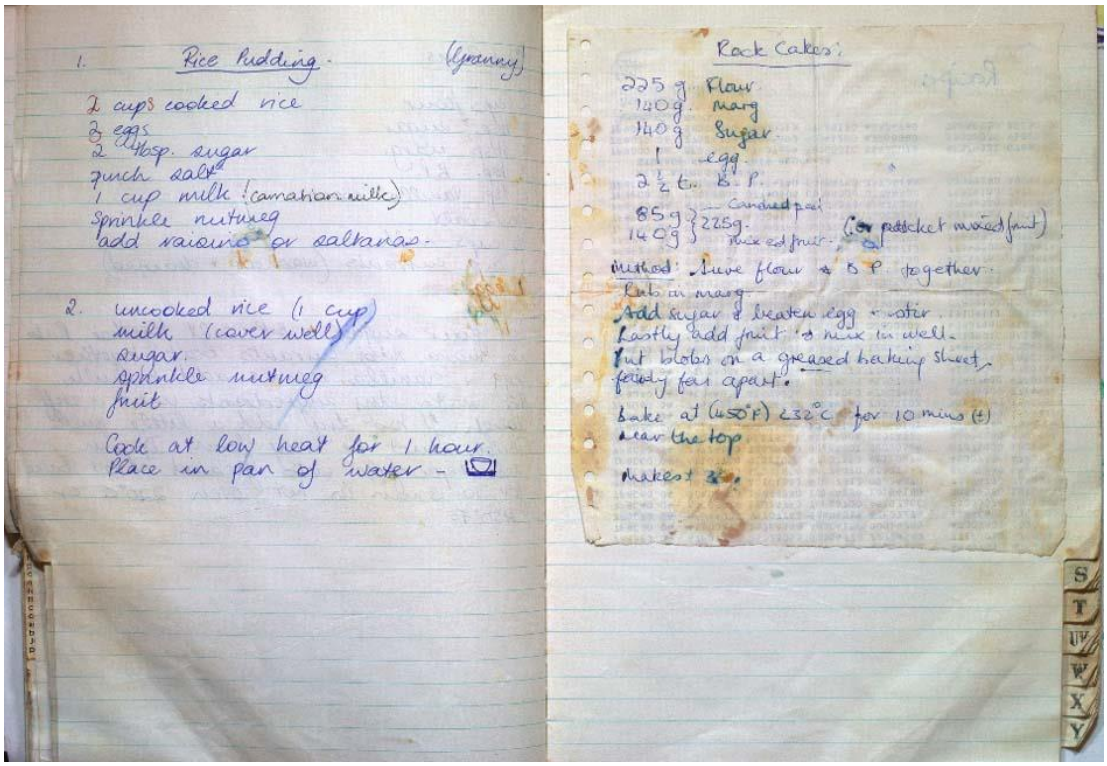


Figure 18: Heritage Recipes, Sandra Carew, *Manuscript recipe book* (author photo)

Another heavy reliance is on South African magazine and newspaper clippings from the early 1980s. These consist, quite strongly, of local favourites and meat dishes, of which both offer further scrutiny. The unanimous use of South African print sources reflects a time in our history where, under Apartheid South African law, we were sanctioned and culturally isolated. International text was limited, and the promotion of local *authentic* recipes was an avenue for local Afrikaner nationalism, which constructed a diet centred very strongly on meat[5].

Furthermore, my mother has been vegetarian for the majority of her life and so the inclusion of meat dishes, which are also written in her own hand, suggests a time in which her culinary identity was different from her current one but could also imply that the recipes she includes are not simply for her palate but also for the needs of her family. Apart from her work diary, my

Granadilla pudding, Trifle and *Milk tert.* The only exception to the typed-out recipes is *Rice Pudding (Granny)* written in my mother's hand (but refers to my great-grandmother who my mother still fondly refers to as Granny).

[5] Our national Heritage Day, 24 September, is now referred to as *National Braai day* which refers to our colloquial method of barbequing meat.

mother's recipe book is the only other book of her personal writing that is openly available and accepted for the family to read. Reflected in what she includes and in its communal use, my mother's recipe book is not simply *hers* but exists within a network of intergenerational sharing and reflects her familial identity.

The hand-written entries in my mother's book lend themselves to this archaic tradition of the "family book"[6]. Written in either blue fountain pen or pencil—her preferred utensils for writing—the content ranges from local dishes like *Babotie* to French *Meringues*, from heritage recipes like *Cornish Pasties, Farmhouse Pie, Fruit Cake* and *rock buns* (of which the pages are pristine and never used) to more globalized recipes for *Brownies* (which is probably the most used and stained recipe in her collection as it is hands down a family favourite). Other handwritten recipes in the book are contributions from me and my sister and, on occasion, from my paternal aunts[7]. There are also references to other women made next to the title. In the case of my own hand I recall the day my mother asked me to scribe for her while she was cooking. In this way, the knowledge is still her own while expressed in another hand. Since I became a vegetarian too, other entries I've made have been for recipes I think we would enjoy together. This shows me that the authorship in manuscripts is rather elusive and modes of crafting are dynamic as well as collective.

This introduces the central approach of this chapter, one presented by Janet Theophano, that recipe books are "domestic diaries" and suggest more than just being "her diary; it is a diary of the family by the mother"[8] as it is at once personal and collective. On one page of her recipe book my mother has made the case for Theophano's domestic diary (figure 19). She made a note of which afternoon's in the week her children needed "double lunches" for days of extra-mural activities.

[6]Referring to the work of Elaine Leong discussed in chapter one

[7]My paternal aunts, one of whom was a strong maternal figure for my dad. To me, this shows the continued communal link between women and the sharing of recipes between them, fostering bonds between generations and across families and communities.

[8]Theophano, 2003: 150. Chapter 4, *Cookbooks as biography*: 136-174. Was incredibly insightful. Unfortunately, I was only granted access to her book at a very late stage in my thesis and would have enjoyed delving further into her text.

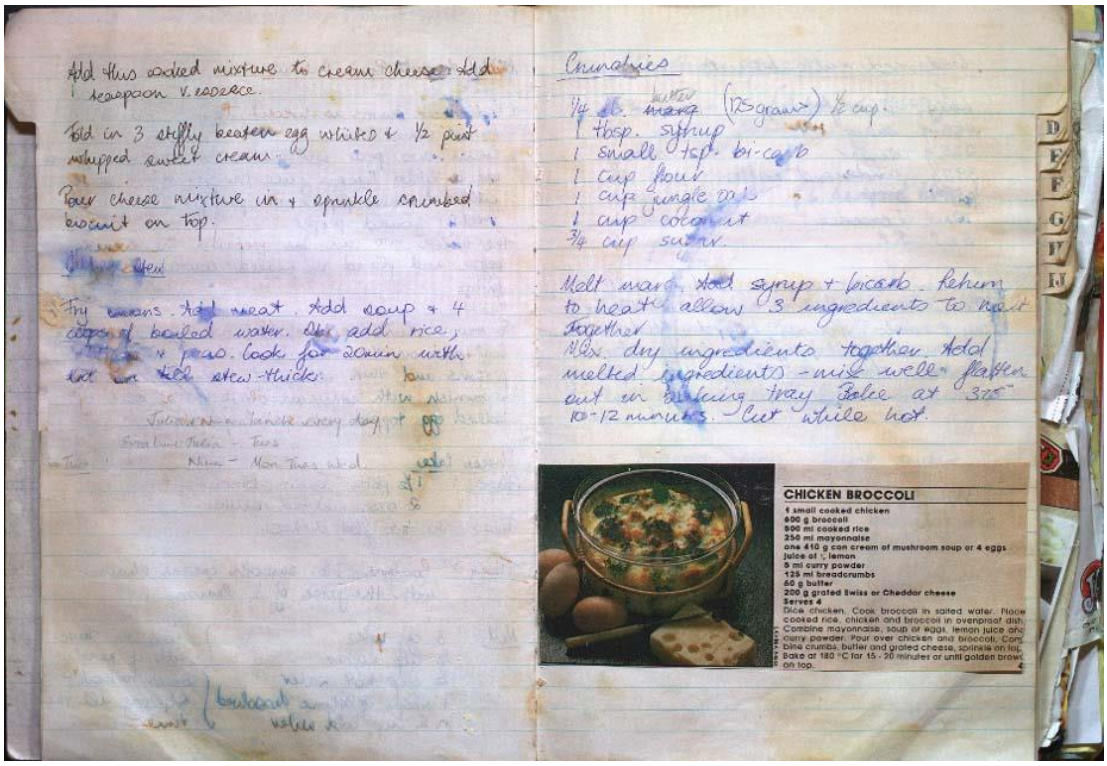


Figure 19: School lunch list next to crunchies, Sandra Carew, *Manuscript recipe book* (author photo)

When it came to cooking, sometimes the use of her book was collaborative; we'd cook together or I'd simply read to her from it. The act of cooking in my home always functioned as a means of connection in my family, something my mother—past teacher and current psychologist—notes is a fundamental drive behind women's behaviour: "as women we want to connect and, although only one avenue, preparing food together in the kitchen is an easy way to do it—because connection means community".

Apart from her writings, the only other recipe book my mother kept in her corner cupboard over the years is a "Catholic Women's League community cookbook", produced and sold by women as a fundraising effort. On the inside cover is a pencil inscription for "Yoghurt Cake" which was my childhood favourite and number one choice when the opportunity to bake arose[9]. This female-authored community book, as well as my mother's personal writings, are reminders of Marianne Bishop's point that "through the process of writing and sharing recipes, women construct a rhetorical situation which affirms their worth not only as cooks but also as people"[10].

[9]This inscription is as far as I've ever ventured into the book, as neither myself nor my mother seem to call on its content.

[10] Bishop, 1997. Speaking sisters: Relief society cookbooks and Mormon culture in *Recipes for reading*: 96. Fleitz (2010) also refers to Bishop's work.

My mother's recipe book tells her personal story and how it was conceived in a time of transition, documenting phases and changes in life. In subtle ways her book tells the story of her fond love of my great-grandmother and her father—both of whom she has lost in the early years of her book's existence. It tells the story of a woman who loved her children and who documented simple things from their daily lives, appreciating their drawings and childhood achievements, treasuring small things[11]. Her book connects to moments of union and comfort, when she would bake with me as a child after sibling disputes, or with her cooking would bring us all around the family dining room table.

THE DOMESTIC DIARY

This is a story—told through the humble family recipe book—of women's heritage and one of the home. A story not inscribed in history books but rather caught by the well-worn pages of women's domestic writing practices. This final chapter is dedicated to the ancient practice my mother has preserved, and why homemade recipe books—on a purely subjective level—obtain celestial value above simply method and instruction.

My mother's recipe book contains stories of her own personal history, but also serves as a much larger example of women's writing in the home. This section looks at how, through tracing the simple things, these books speak to what is sacred and sublime. According to Graeber, "value emerges in action", meaning that it is a process by which a person's "invisible potency"—their capacity to act—is "transformed into a perceptible form"[12].The "unity of subject and object" which can only take place through the process of writing and cooking food is what affirms its value—something generic cookbooks are often unable to offer. In doing so, it looks closely at the mode of construction as a reflection of the author's much broader values and desires. and due to their timeless narratives and continued relevance to the family, the book is seen as a non-linear, multi-modal text, something very specific to women's private writing.

[11] The other drawings in the collection are my own, and one in particular relates to a school competition I entered for the annual school pantomime fundraiser. I won the cover, and my mother kept the drawing in her book here.
[12] Graeber, D. 2001. *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dream*: 45

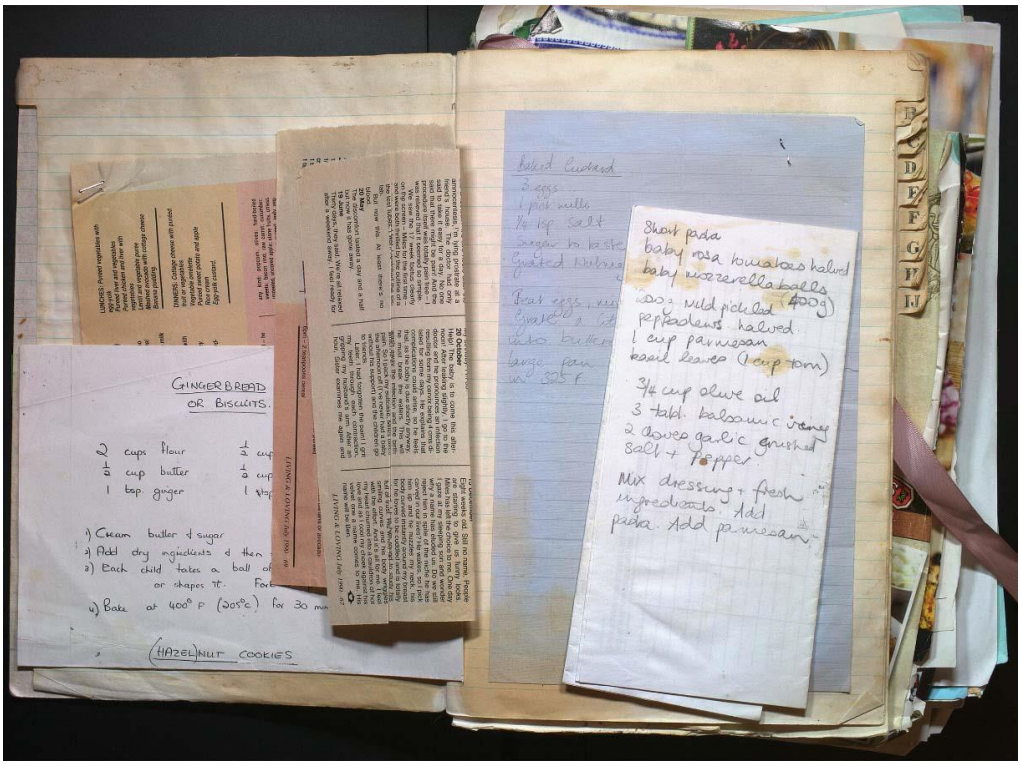


Figure 20: Authorship styles, Sandra Carew, *Manuscript recipe book* (author photo)

Conceived of and authored by my mother, her recipe book can be read as an autobiographical object. However, I am telling her story, or more accurately, *our* story, as mother and daughter. At the same time, I have made contributions too, and so I can be considered a co-author. Depending on the perspective, homemade recipe books can shift from autobiographical to biographical objects[13] in a multitude of ways (crossing generational lines as well as spanning across one generation). They can also be read in a multitude of ways (which will be explored later)

With this in mind, due to its subjective relationship to the family, the genre of domestic recipe writing is idiosyncratic and dynamic in nature. In the article *Cooking Codes: Cookbook Discourses as Women's Rhetorical Practices* (2010), culinary theorist Elizabeth Frietz[14] writes that "much like cooking, the recipe—the written representation of women's domestic discourse—is a dynamic text"[15] and should be considered as "multi-modal". She further notes that because of the historic limitations on female literacy practices, women throughout history have learned to become resistant readers and writers[16]. Kathleen Batstone notes that there is a resistance to any sort of contained writing style, thematic pattern or manifest ideology[17].

[13]Sutton, D. & Hernandez, M. 2007: 68
[14]Frietz, E. 2010. *Cooking Codes: Cookbook Discourses as Women's Rhetorical Practices*: 1-6
[15]op.cit.: 1
[16]op.cit.: 4
[17]op.cit., cites Batstone: 3

The idiosyncrasies of collections like my mothers can be referred to as the subjective "code" each collection functions through. The coded nature is thus unique for each manuscript recipe book, changing with each author too. This "code" of my mother's book is reflective of her personality, thought structure, manner in which she writes and/or the timing of the entry. Furthermore, it is only by the intimate connection as her daughter that I can both decode the subtleties in her book and all the back stories to recipes and shared moments of the book in use. Zussman remarks that the choice to write on his mother's collection "allows me to draw on the dense knowledge I have of my own family to identify what would otherwise be unrecognisable scenes to people"[18]. Unlike the relationship I had to the recipe books discussed in chapter one, I see that the personal connection to the compiler—one fostered in a private setting—is crucial to understanding the broader importance of the collection, the context it is embedded within. It is the intimate connection to the valued codes of the manuscript that distinguish the kind of recognition both Zussman and I can make.

It is this adaptability and fluid nature of giving and receiving that allows the personal recipe book to stay relevant. This natural ebb-and-flow poetically locates the thread of familial lineage in this practice. The book makes reference to the female community my mother is a part of. Recipes from my aunts, family friends, Catholic recipe books—all of these make up the web of feminine connection recipe books represent. In this way, as a collective lifeline of the family and the individual author, the book manifests an identity which is multiple, shifting and contingent. The way we read a multimodal text is different as well; it has more flexibility in how it can be read with many points of entry (evident in my entry into my mother's book from the back pages). Tracing these actions of craft and skill highlights the ways in which the cook, in this case my mother, reproduces the text in her own way to serve her own needs.

[18]Zussman, R. *Picturing the self: my mother's family photo albums*:28

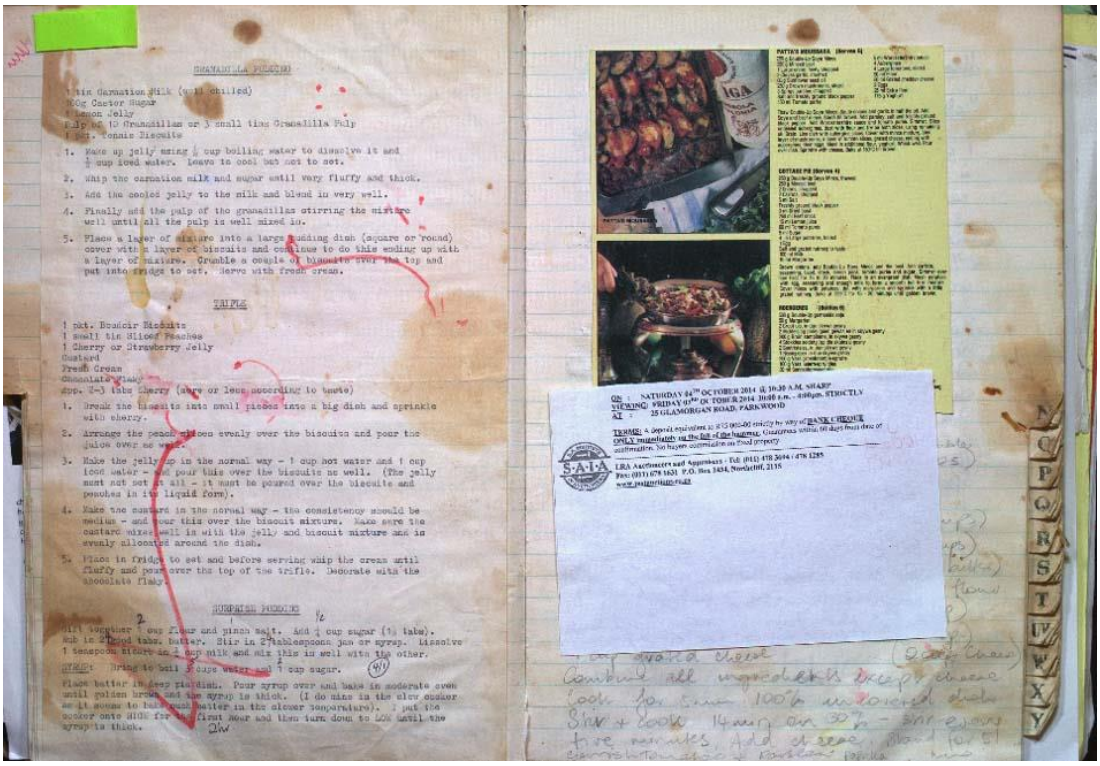


Figure 21: Action shot, Sandra Carew, *Manuscript recipe book* (author photo)

The materiality of the book has the capacity to hold onto, or archive, the time/s in which it was used. In this way, the recipe book *catches you in action*, by the oil and wet ingredient splatters that mark its pages. Looking through my mother's recipe book it becomes evident to me which recipes have been *enacted* frequently and which recipes have received little attention since their crafting. These traces of action indicate which recipes are family favourites, due to their heavily stained and well-worn pages, versus the untouched recipes. In my mother's book, her *brownie recipe* page, *spinach pie, carrot cake* and *crunchie* pages show themselves as favourites through signs of use. Secondly, the book may catch splatters of individual ingredients, but it is the use of these ingredients together that becomes a point of intrigue. The action of cooking, the process of making a meal or dessert, is *caught* by the book. The process of transformation, from raw to cooked, from singular ingredients to unified form is held within the materiality of its pages. And so, while blank pages offer a possibility for future entries, these pages are stained by the presence of past times in the kitchen.

What this indicates is that every time the book is opened and used it receives new contributions, and, as such, it changes. Along with the universal themes and their multi-modality, manuscripts have a different relationship to time than do printed recipe books. It is their signs of age and use, their continuity from the past, that fosters our affection for them for those signs become symbolic of our loved ones' actions in our past. In this sense, the past

eagerly cohabits with the present[19]. Home manuscripts are constantly forming, developing and unfolding. They continuously invite moments for revision, re-definition, add-ins and erasure[20]that show that recipe manuscripts, in their very nature, embody change. They are a compendium of information and are written in multiple ways: some recipes are jotted in the margins, while others are written diagonally across a page[21].As the recipe book moves across generations over to the new *trustee,* its content and self-determined relevance can be re-established, constantly re-prescribing its personal significance. The indefinable traits of my mother's collection disrupt a linear notion of time. In this manner many dualities co-exist: fixed and loose, then and now, presence and absence, quantifiable and ephemeral.

While in some ways recipe manuscripts can be read as non-linear, timeless forms of writing due to their multi-modality**,** they can also be seen as an archive that charts the phases of life, diarizing significant moments in time. Recipe books are relatively durable while transient in nature, they have the ability to move with us while retaining where they've come from[22], offering a sense of continuity from the previous space in which they functioned, and can be approached through the psychological perspective of Winnicott as "transitional objects".

Winnicott writes that the transitional object mediates between the child's sense of connection to the body of the mother and a growing recognition that he or she is a separate being. Transitional objects, with their "joint allegiance to self and other, demonstrate to the child that objects in the external world can be loved"[23]. Winnicott believes that during all stages of life we continue to search for objects we can experience both as within and outside of the self. Winnicott situated that "transitional objects operate in an intermediate space, a privileged zone, in which outer and inner realities can meet". It is in these terms that Judith Donath speaks of objects that exist "between the outside world and the inner self"[24]. The homemade book describes a woman's internal world, being an account of her daily life.

My mother's recipe book mediated her transition from childhood family home in Pietermaritzburg to self-defined adulthood in Cape Town. The inclusion of my grandmother and great-grandmother's recipes *in their hand* reflects and honours their place of origin**.** The conscious effort to include her mother and grandmother's recipes with a personalised touch suggests a conscious means of continuation of the child from the mother in a time of change. In this way, it operates as a feminine rite-of-passage.

In the present moment, my great-grandmother's recipes written in her hand serve as a memorial of a woman I never met. The large inclusion of her recipes is testament of the

[19]Lindley, S.E. 2012. Before I forget: From personal memory to family history. 14
[20]These can be considered marks of absence, the signs of change through the action of removal.
[21]Many other recipe books I looked at had writings that shifted orientation. Some entries written upside down to the rest of the content.
[22]Sutton & Hernandez
[23]Turkle (2011) cites Winnicott
[24]op.cit., cites Donath: *What makes An Object Evocative?:* 315

influence my great-grandmother had on my mother, within the kitchen and outside of it. Over the years when my mother is relaxed cooking in the kitchen (and something reserved quite particularly for this space) she will begin telling stories of when my great-grandmother lived with them when my mom was a teenager, and which often involve their moments together in the kitchen. My grandmother worked a full-time job, and when my mother returned from school, she would frequently find Leslie Passmore sitting in the kitchen awaiting her arrival. Her stories conjure up a nostalgic image of a kind-hearted woman who wore coke-bottle glasses and cooked with soul (meaning lots of butter). Both the recipes and the accompanying stories reflect the "privileged zone" transitional objects operate within, as it mediates what is within us as well as outside of us, navigating a continued desire for connection with loved ones who are no longer with us.

Similarly, my mother pays homage to my grandfather by her crafting utensil of choice. I remember being a young girl (six or so) and my mother telling me she wrote with her blue fountain pen as her late father did. Since then, the recipes in blue ink seem to be laced with the memory of my late grandfather, when I see the ink on specific pages, which I'm sure was my mother's intention. The recipe for "Barley Water"—written in blue ink (figure 22)—specifically relate to my grandfather, as my mother made it as a soothing drink when he (unsuccessfully) battled cancer. Here, nostalgic longing highlights loss, poetically captured by the running of blue ink on some pages.

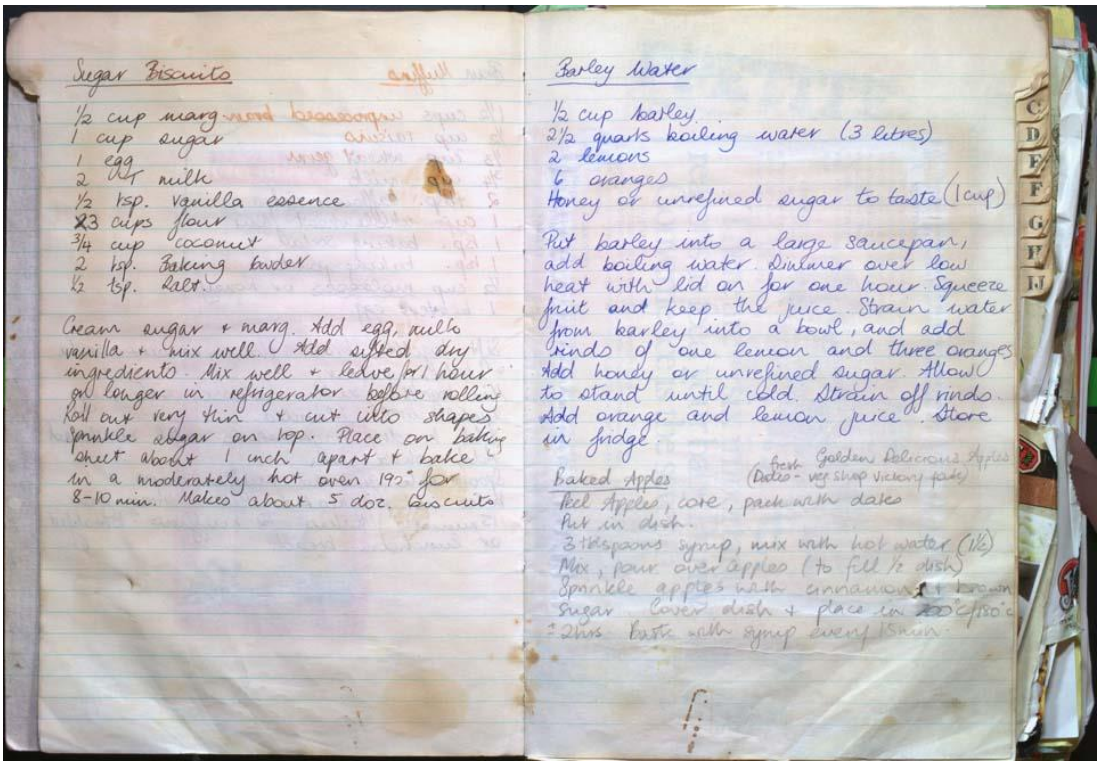


Figure 22: Barley Water, Sandra Carew, *Manuscript recipe book* (author photo)

In *Photographs as Objects of Memory* (1999), Elizabeth Edwards links images and their materiality in a similar way to the link I see between recipe books and their materiality. In her argument, photographs are used as a means of "making the instant concrete and preserving it in drawers, scrapbooks and albums, to which handling and glancing at them reconnects us to a past"[25].While my mother's book preserves memories and loss, at the same time it archives growth and potential. In the years of its conception, most of the fixed content came about in the early years of my parents' marriage, almost in preparation for her future family. Here, these clippings allude to the potentialities of life and the imaginings of motherhood. Most of the visuals that accompany magazine clippings relate to family life[26] and suggest the expression of this internal desire she held for her future self in her own private writings. The later visuals included in her collection of her children's drawings reveal the actualisation of this desire.

The transition from young adult to motherhood is reflected in her crafting style too. In the initial phase, it appears she consciously and carefully wrote and stuck in the content under the alphabetised tabs. As life picked up pace (as our family grew to three children and my mother returned to her studies after being a teacher for 22 years), her recipe book became less formally structured. Entries from this time no longer appear under their suited alphabetical tab, rather written a "by theme"—according to my mother—or slid in the back. The inclusion of her children's drawings hastily slotted in the back reveals the fleeting moments of a young family as well as the conscious decision in managing to grasp traces of these moments. It shows a transition in intention behind her domestic writings. Where previously it seemed to be more about connecting to her childhood family, it now functioned around her role as a mother. Her recipe book became a trustworthy spot to keep valuable information worth holding on to, things that the demands of modern family life might have otherwise taken from her[27].

[25]Edwards, 1999: 11

[26]Visuals accompanying breadmaking directions are of a mother and child cooking together in the kitchen. Another in her collection shows a young family picnicking with a toddler on his father's lap.

[27] This is evident by the inclusion of mine and my brother's childhood drawings present in the book, differing from my sister's (the first born) drawings kept in a plastic flip file next to her photo album. This shows that the recipe as a storehouse of keepsakes only really began after her younger years, prompting the provenance of this section between 1995-2002.

Figure 23: Family portrait, Sandra Carew, *Manuscript recipe book* (author photo)

In some cases, there are drawings in my mother's book by my brother. It shows the intimacy of the kitchen space and the intimate relationship between mother and child. Other times my brother has drawn in her book while my mother was cooking from her recipe book (see figure 22). It also shows that while the book is open and being used on a functional level – that is to cook a recipe – it captures all sorts of intricacies in the kitchen.[28]Her book therefore documents her own relationship as a daughter to her mother as well as the transition over to be a mother to her children (as it will one day do the same for me).

Another possible explanation of why my mother shifted from a structured way of writing toward a more thematic style is her own internal move away from prescriptive norms toward a more self-determined way of life. My mother very rarely adheres to the "rules and guidelines" of recipes as she says: "recipes are just a starting point or a reference, you know I always *ad lib* when I cook". The thematic code to which she has written is so personally embedded that even as her children using her recipe book we need to ask for assistance. In some ways writing outside of the confines of the lines and indexical structure can be read as a subtle form of resistance, which Fleitz terms as "women transgress[ing] from within"[29]. However, in my mother's case, I read it as less to do with resistance against the status quo and more to do with following her own innate intuition and honouring the roots of the domestic practice. In this

[28] The presence of my brother's scribbles and his homework activities also echo chapter one's brief mention of the book as an educational space.
[29] Fleitz, 2010:4

way, through the cooking and writing process, she herself sees the value not in it being a book of guidelines and rules, but as a space which archives her domestic life and connections to self, family and community (adulthood, motherhood and womanhood).

Much of the beauty of hand-crafted recipe books lies in this invisibility. I think it is fair to say that the women crafting such books knew that they would only be seen by a select few, mainly themselves and their daughters. For the majority of hand-made recipe books, they will remain unseen by the world, only seen by those who are part of the author's family/community. And here is where I see great power. Like a diary, the writer trusts in the privacy of the reduced visibility—allowing unfiltered thoughts and desires to flow, a space for imagined realities and fluid identity to fill the page. The female voice may struggle with being heard in public discourse, but the personal writings of women that have endured, in this case recipe books, have given women a space in which their voice has power. The duality of public-as-seen and private-as-unseen has, in a way, protected and preserved the ancestral roots of the practice.

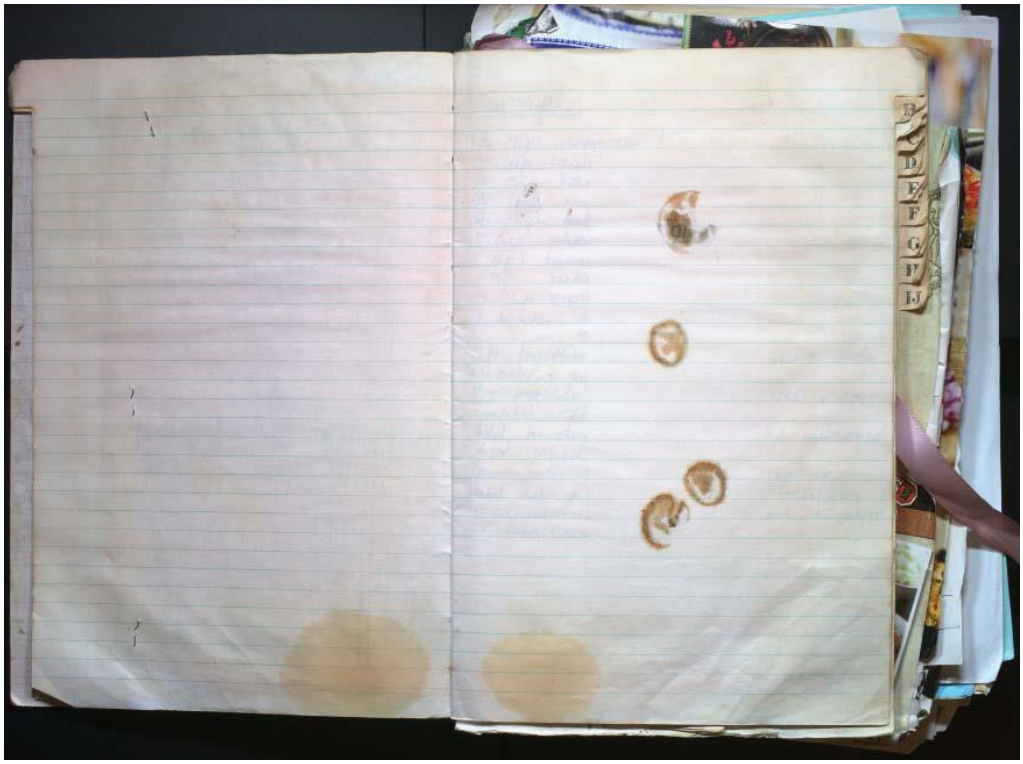


Figure 24: Presence in Absence, Sandra Carew, *Manuscript recipe book* (author photo)

THE SIMPLE AND SUBLIME

Bill Brown's thing theory becomes useful here when trying to understand the celestial statuspersonal possessions like recipe books hold:

> *You can imagine things, second, as what is excessive in an object, as what exceeds their mere materialisation as objects or their mere utilization as objects – their force as a sensuous presence or as a metaphysical presence, the magic by which objects become values, fetishes, idols and totems*.[30]

Homemade recipe books' ability to blur the boundary between inner and outer worlds and between generations offer continuity across space and time, elevating the status from a physical object to a metaphysical *thing*[31]. The agency an object has in defining an environment or affording different possibilities for its use means that the recognition of this union in turn acknowledges the multiple and shifting identities it carries.

New material studies recognize that inalienable objects are rendered this way due to the unity of subject and object. Marcel Mauss sees this unity as "fetishism", as the objects themselves become personified, taking on the histories and identities of their owners and recipients, the identity of subjects becomes tied to the objects they possess[32].Similarly, Cohen's writing sees fetishism as "implying nothing more than a heightened kind of recognition" and "is simply us, as yet incapable of being blind to the presence of the spirit of things"[33]. Without the deep-rooted desire, there is no personalised connection to the object. It is through the recognition of this desire that room for memory (past) and imagination (future) is given.

At the same time recipe books like my mothers are valuable because they are humble and non-descript. It is their simplicity and quotidian use that allows them to transcend to a celestial level in which timeless, universal themes come to the fore. Marianne Hirsch writes extensively on the domestic archive and the power of testimonial objects and the familial gaze[34]. In one such essay, Hirsch focuses on a book of recipes written by women during the Holocaust and argues that such material remnants can serve as testimonial objects that carry memory traces from the past:

> *the study of such personal and familial material remnants calls for an expanded understanding of testimony. Such remnants carry memory traces from the past, to be sure, but they also* ***embody*** *the very process of its transmission*[35]

---

[30]Brown, B. 2004. 4-5

[31]Brown: Things

[32]Mauss, The Gift, I. Cunnison (Trans.), London: Routledge, 1954 [1925].

[33]Cohen, L. 1997. Glass, Paper, Beans: Revelations on the Nature and Value of Ordinary Things.

[34]Important works by Marianne Hirsch include *The Mother/Daughter Plot: Narrative, Psychoanalysis, Feminism* (1989), *Family frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (1997) and *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust* (2012).

[35]Hirsch & Spitzer, 2006: 355. Emphasis made in original text

In this way, Hirsch points out that objects from our past are more than just a testament of a personal or collective history. It is in the very process of their construction and the "nature of exchange" that Leonardi refers to that shapes the understanding of the value of transmission, the act of making and writing that proves testament to why such a remnant exists. It is through the focus on the "very process"—the unfolding nature of how it is made and used—that significance can be absorbed into the object's current identity that gives it elevated value in the present. Graeber's theory of "value emerges in action" points to both the process of construction and the process of using the recipe book that renders it both (auto)biographical and inalienable. In a literal sense, my mother's book is hand crafted by moments of action, absorbed through the inking of pages, or glued in magazine clippings. In a more figurative sense, the book absorbs the actions taken in the kitchen as the pages are marked by the splatter of grease due to the books close proximity to the stove, a child's scribbles on an open page—absorbing the close proximity of family to the kitchen. It absorbs the different generations of contributors through preserving the subtle differences of handwriting and annotations, with the notion of past represented by the degrees of ink visibility.

The enactment of recipes allows for connection to be made and stories to be told, giving the book celestial status. The principles of action and process thus emerge as crucial factors to understanding manuscript recipe books' materiality and value. Hesser's notion of the "aura of tradition" comes from the history of the actions taken with them, the many meals they have produced by the current and previous owners, their everyday and extraordinary encounters with food[36].

The recipes included in my mother's collection, whether fixed or ephemeral, are all a result of personal connection. Here, we find self-expression through relationships, and stories of a life told through ceremonial occasions. Theorist Elizabeth Freitz[37] discusses the coded nature and rhetorical practices around the writing and construction of recipe books. She notes that women have participated in a practice that has allowed them throughout history to connect with other women and validate their own existence in the domestic sphere[38]. My mother's book holds the culinary biography of a long line of women that only I, an intimate member and contributor, and a few others can really value. The content of recipes spans at least four generations of my maternal line, to which I am sure my great-grandmother gathered the recipes my mother holds from her mother. The inclusion of these recipes marks the start of my mother's collection and, in doing so, mark the inter-generational link food plays in identity and heritage. This is what Leong refers to as 'starter collections'[39]. In this way, the conscious process of transmitting culinary knowledge from one generation to the next embodies the meaning of the manuscript.

[36] Sutton & Hernandez: 76

[37] Freitz, E. Cooking Codes: Cookbook Discourses as Women's Rhetorical Practices

[38] op.cit.: 1.

[39] A term used by Leong (2013) referring to the purposeful act of copying out prior generation's recipes into a new book

Ultimately, through tracing the intimate stories of my mother’s domestic life, told through the eyes of her daughter, I hope to have brought to light why this inter-generational practice, which women have held dear for centuries, continues to be valuable

Upon closer inspection, recipe books as a genre of women’s writing carry significance beyond a list of rules and measurements, hinting at the values and desires of their authors and the communities they lived in. They are domestic diaries. What emerges is, unlike a normal diary, an author and storyteller who is contingent and multiple. It is a story of “self” in which the "I" is virtually always subordinate to a "we," albeit a constantly shifting "we". It is a story embedded in code that functions in a network of connection. In this way, at any given time a manuscript can hold onto and tell a story from the personal present and the collective past. Most importantly, these accounts do not simply represent the self but constitute it. The self, as many sociologists, psychologists, and philosophers recognize, is not an entity, not a thing, but a story (or stories) we and others tell, and can be told on our behalf.

CONCLUSION

A RETURN TO SIMPLE PLEASURES

Cooking is not just about joining the dots, following one recipe slavishly and then moving on to the next…in cooking, as in writing, you must please yourself to please others[1]

At the turn of the millennium, the self-proclaimed home cook, Nigella Lawson, emerged in the cookbook and television[2] industry with a fresh, distinctive voice. Primetime television watchers and cookbook readers were greeted by the image of a voluptuous and sensual female cook who —on the surface—seemed to promote a stereotypical traditional domesticity that would have had the women's liberation movement tearing their hair out. However, while patented as a shrewd branding exercise, Nigella Lawson's domestic persona struck a chord with a female audience as she moved beyond "following a recipe slavishly", resurrecting a version of domestic cookery that was intuitively driven and—illustrated by her own approach—should be pleasurable for the cook herself.

She quickly became a household name, selling books in the millions and watched by just as many. The unwavering support of Lawson in the noughties suggests an audience of women yearning for a public figure who unapologetically claims the image of *good* domesticity. By this I mean, one with personal freedoms and creative space, but without the burdensome external expectations. However, Lawson is by no means an anomaly; at the same time there has been a cultural regeneration by young women for *old-fashioned* domestic practices that were critiqued and rejected by second wave feminism[3]. It begs the questions: why has there been a resurgence in traditional female domestic practices trending among younger women who grew up with—or were at least a part of creating—new freedoms outside of the home? And more importantly, what can it tell us about the twenty-first century conception of a female domestic identity?

[1]Lawson, N. 1998. How to Eat: The Pleasures and Principles of Food: x

[2]Nigella Lawson's television show, *Nigella Bites,* premiered in 1999 between her launch of her first two cookbooks. It was a primetime television show on Channel 4 in the UK and broadcast internationally too. A televised and personal aspect to her persona in an important part of her success but will be underplayed in this discussion focusing on her cookery texts. See Andrews, M. "Nigella Bites and the Naked Chef: The Sexual and the Sensual in Television Cookery Programmes" in *The Recipe Reader* (2010): 187-204

[3]Culver, C. 2013. My Kitchen, Myself: Constructing the Feminine Identity in Contemporary Cookbooks. 16(3): 1

Hailed by chefs, reviewers, cookery writers and millions of home cooks worldwide as one of the best cookery books ever written, Nigella Lawson's first publication *How to Eat: The Pleasures and Principles of Good Food* (1998) firmly placed her as a popular public figure of domestic cookery, occupying a significant space in the public imagination. Lawson quickly followed with the launch of *Nigella Bites* in 1999 on primetime Channel Four television and *How to be a Domestic Goddess: Baking and the Art of Comfort Food* (2000) the year after.

Her cookbooks and television show were more than just directions in how to cook, they offered a personalised journey through the cooking process, highlighting the simple satisfaction food can bring: "I want you to feel that I'm here with you, in the kitchen, as you cook. My books are the conversations we might be having"[4]. The conversational nature and personal anecdotes of Lawson's writing offers readers a more realistic, truthful account, breaking away from the mass-messages printed cookbooks dictated since the nineteenth century. From the onset Lawson's writing cultivates a personal sense of authority in her readers: "I want to make it clear, here and now, that you need to acquire your own individual sense of what food is about, rather than just a vast collection of recipes"[5] and that "this may be a book about baking, but it is not a baking book…not in the sense of being a manual…or a map of a land you do not inhabit"[6]. At the turn of the century contemporary readers were introduced with a revolutionary approach to home cooking that moved away from prescriptive guides like Beeton and Crocker's, seeing "perfectionism [as] the enemy of any kind of pleasure in the kitchen"[7]

A conscious and purposeful choice by Lawson, her food philosophy amalgamates an established public persona[8] with a tradition of domestic cookery. Lawson expressly positions herself in opposition to the public world of restaurant cooking and "invokes an authority based upon a tradition of femininity"[9] with references to her mother's, aunt's and grandmother's cooking. Lawson follows in the historical footsteps of Hannah Wolley and Elizabeth Smith who also marketed themselves in opposition to the public male readership and who also used practical, female experience to appeal to home cooks. In a similar manner to both Wolley and Smith, Lawson's cookbooks and food philosophy ushers in much of the manuscript's core values. She takes readers on a journey by story, offering personal anecdotes and shards of culinary memory readers could relate to, personalising her cookbook and reducing cooks' anxieties along the way. In this way—as well as others—she revives the most important historical roots of why women enjoyed cooking and writing food before it was so strongly articulated as an expectation and duty, motivating women to "reclaim" this part of their identity:

---

[4]Lawson, N. 1998. How to Eat: The Pleasures and Principles of Food: x
[5]op.cit. x
[6] Lawson, N. 2000. How to be a Domestic Goddess: *Baking and the Art of Comfort Food*: viii
[7]Lawson, 1998: x
[8]Lawson was already well known as a food writer and critic and came from a famous family. See Andrews, see Rodell, 2019. *Nigella Lawson Was Never Just a Domestic Goddess*
[9]Andrews, 2003: 189

> *I do think that many of us have become alienated from the domestic sphere, and it can actually make us feel better to claim back some of that space, make it comforting, rather than frightening. In a way, baking stands as a useful metaphor for the familial warmth of the kitchen we fondly imagine used to exist, and as a way of reclaiming our lost Eden*[10].

The "frightening" reality of stepping back into the kitchen stems from the successes of the Women's Liberation Movement which grew out of seminal works like Betty Freidan's. By opening the kitchen door and allowing women to step outside and give perspective to the home, the movement radically changed both women's work and how they could conceive a sense of self beyond the duties of mother and wife. While it opened women to a world of possibilities outside of the home, it did little to consider new possibilities within it. Pervasive isolating domesticity reached its climax in the post war years, and with the liberation from such drudgery came a late-twentieth century ideology which condemned the space—and the associated practices within it—as the main culprit for their historically shackled hands[11]. In a modern time in which a multitude of developing identities for women were made possible, remaining in the kitchen and cooking was not progressive, and was seen as almost an insult to the work of the Liberation Movement. Women who positively associated cooking as a truly expressive and enjoyable act[12] were seen in a negative light. Even for those unsure if they did or didn't enjoy cooking, it has caused much anxiety about the way in which they *should* interact with the space. This has resulted in "many of us" women having been frightened away, losing connection to a historical avenue of personal expression and connection to self and other.

This shift has contributed to a number of once culturally understood boundaries and identity positions becoming blurred, especially those between masculinity and femininity or between private and public. By the turn of the millennium—when Nigella launched her series—a postmodern culture saw "its endings of certainty and an emphasis on the temporal and the contingent"[13] producing an anxious mood for women and men toward their relationship to domestic practices. This was also a result of the new relationship of the production and consumption of eating at home. New technologies such as the microwave—and commercial food preparation of *quick-n-easy* take-out food—have replaced traditional female demands, resulting in less responsibility to keep up such domestic practices in which less pressure fell on women to perform in the private space[14].

However, does Lawson's sensual and traditional persona fulfil a much larger societal longing for past confining notions of "familial warmth" and cosy domesticity "of the kitchen we fondly

---

[10]Lawson, 2000: viii

[11]In my view, the WLM approached the issue of isolating domestic through the same dualistic paradigm in which it was formed (female-private, male-public). Meaning, as women moved out of the home, they also moved away from anything thought of as inherently female.

[12] This is complex because in chapter one we see that there was great value in women part-taking in domestic practices, especially when they were self-determined

[13]Andrews, 2003: 192

[14]Duruz, 1999. *Haunted Kitchens: Cooking and Remembering*: 57

imagine used to exist"? Culinary historian Jean Duruz sees, in part, that Nigella's persona resonated with a large audience because she comfortably fits into our culinary imaginations which are shaped by "icons of traditional comfort" and "sustainable items of nurturance"[15]. Nigella's success lies in her revival of *Cooking Woman*—the image of the silent and selfless cook used by Duruz[16]—as a means to restore some sense of stability in a time of uncertainty in a post-industrial West grappling with loss of firm boundaries.

Her success reveals that she unequivocally taps into the anxieties of the post-modern female psyche. Within a postmodern world of numerous fleeting identity positions, the strong response to a voice like Lawson's evidently has power because it speaks to the yearning for a positive figure of domesticity, in which she not only accepted the domestic space but unapologetically claimed to love and desire being a home cook. In viewer responses to her publications and television shows, one woman said:

> *she definitely did make it acceptable—desirable even—for women to bake pies and cupcakes and waft around the kitchen. I think for a lot of women that was very freeing. We were allowed to luxuriate in food, allowed to be greedy, allowed to be happy in the home[17].*

While Nigella does indeed luxuriate in food—a position rooted deeply in "what feels right for you"[18]—and happens to be voluptuous, maternal and soft in nature, her emphasis on feeling relates far more to the reworking of the idea of *comfort* for women than perversely sexualising cooking (for a male and female audience at home). By emphasising the sensual aspects, she redefines the idea of comfort cooking:

> *the problem with modern cooking is not that the food it produces isn't good, but the mood it induces in the cook is one of skin-of-the-teeth efficiency, all briskness and little pleasure… This is what baking is all about: feeling good, wafting along in the warm, sweet-smelling air, unwinding, no longer being entirely an office creature; and that's exactly what I mean by 'comfort cooking'[19]*

In this way, Lawson reconfigures "comfort cooking" for the cook *herself*, vastly different from the 1950s suburban image of comfort cooking by women—as noted by Duruz—as a means of soothing and serving the needs of others. By speaking about the mood of the cook, she refers to the cerebral nature of modern cooking, that "if you're scared I think it somehow does permeate into the cooking, you just have to relax and it'll go better" – she wants us "to *feel* like a domestic Goddess" where we can make room for embodiment and intuition over the

[15]Duruz, 1999: 57
[16]op.cit. 58
[17]Rodell, B. 2019. *Nigella Lawson Was Never Just a Domestic Goddess* [O].
[18]Andrews quotes Lawson's television show *Nigella Bites*: 199
[19]Lawson *How to be a Domestic Goddess*: xiii

temporal one of the "office creature"[20] – i.e. the public female persona. The point of reclaiming the archetypal image of a 'goddess' who resides in the domestic space is not to fulfil 1950s suburbia ideals—seeing herself through the eyes of other people—but for the female cook to conceive of herself in an arcadian space in which it doesn't matter if she has an audience or not because it is for her own personal satisfaction. The act of cooking and writing is turned into a therapeutic and personal experience, alchemising ingredients as well as one's emotion.

By focusing on the sensual—the feel, texture and aroma of food—pleasure can be brought back to the process of cooking and is the place in which enjoyment and pleasure is found. This is Lawson's strongest link to the manuscript practice and why she has been discussed at such length. Before women could read and write recipes, they were using non-intellectual and intuitive approaches, and that is true in premodern England and within the colonial kitchens of South Africa. Recipe manuscripts originated out of what first smelt and tasted good, what creative combinations fashioned a helpful salve or a tasty broth. It was tradition combined with self-determination and creativity that fostered the manuscript practice and, as exemplified in my mother's collection, is still the core of the manuscript practice in current times. In turn, Lawson reminds a greater audience of what is inherently valuable in the practice of recipe manuscripts and domestic reading and writing of food.

RETRO SPINS ON TRADITION:

The idea Lawson puts forwards of traditional feminine practices offering women a comfortable retreat has continued as a motif within the twenty-first century. Since the early noughties, a trend among millennials sees a return to more traditional and 'old school' domestic practices such as the return of home-cooking, purchasing from local farmers' markets. This resurgence is paralleled by notions of ethical consumption, seen as a response to the destabilizing of and global awareness around mainstream consumer culture. One of the most interesting aspects of this phenomenon is how a progressive politics of consumption is expressed through images and aesthetics that are culturally coded as conservative. More specific to women, cultural theorists Rosanna Hunt and Michelle Phillipov write about one such counter-cultural movement, known as *Nanna Style,* which has put a retro spin on many traditional feminine practices[21]. Carody Culver writes that many of the old-fashioned practices of domesticity that had been critiqued and rejected by second wave feminism are being reinvented[22]. These include 1950s fashion references and the growing popularization of homemade cooking and crafting practices, including needle work, scrapbooking and recipe collecting which are publicly shared in magazines, blogs and YouTube videos[23].

[20]Lawson, 2000: xiii
[21] Hunt & Phillipov, 2014. *Nanna Style: the counter-cultural politics of retro femininities*: 1
[22]Culver, 2013: *My Kitchen, Myself: Constructing the Feminine Identity in Contemporary Cookbooks*: 1
[23]op cit. 3

South Africa has its own modern unique spin on traditional feminine practices. In the last ten years there appears to be a growing tread around personalized, hand-crafted recipe collections tied to the ceremony of marriage. A specifically tailored recipe collection—usually fashioned by the maid-of-honour—includes favourite recipes from the bride-to-be's closest friends and family and is gifted to her at her bridal shower. In some collections blank pages are crafted in, acting very much as a starter collection seen in the practice's origins, where the bride has the potential space to add to the recipe book. The modern spin is that the collection is often digitised, designed beautifully, printed and bound before being presented to the bride.

The personalised recipe book is framed as a customary object that lends itself to the transition from sisterhood to married life. These ceremonial practices themselves speak to Anglo-Celtic feminine traditions, that of the ancestral line of the manuscript practice, which saw the manuscript recipe book as a rite-of-passage into married life[24]. Recipes from grandmother's, oldest friendships, siblings, cousins and new family is all wrapped up in one collection for the bride to have in her new phase of life. It is a symbol of union of her past (family and old friends) and her future (acquiring a new family of women from the groom's side and spaces to write her own recipes).

Another modern layer to twenty-first century recipe collecting relates to globalisation and inter-continental living. In a contemporary culture where we can live so far from our loved ones, such a customary object presented at marriage acts as a book of culinary memories that the owner can call on at any moment to elicit fond nostalgic memories and a sense of closeness to her loved ones. It marks the historical significance of community engagement around food and in the celebration of love, and acts as an emblem for the influence of such women in her life and that they will always be with her. Such reconfiguration of the historic domestic manuscript allows the importance of its traditional value to thrive in the modern context.

[24] This culinary ritual is reflected in my mother's collection, as she formed her own starter collection prior to marriage.

THE UNEXPRESSED 'I':

Lawson sees that part of her reconfigured "comfort cooking" is about "a fond, if ironic, dream: the unexpressed 'I'…a weekend alter-ego, winning adoring glances and endless approbation from anyone who has the good fortune to eat in her kitchen"[25]. For Lawson, and for those of us who love to cook and write food, making comforting food at home and writing up familiar and novel recipes, among other things, is about far more than a good meal and a list of instructions. Through a self-authored recipe book (and cooking) practice, women can connect to much larger arcane grand-narratives:"[reclaiming our lost Eden] is hardly a culinary matter, of course: but cooking [and writing food], we know, has a way of cutting through things, and to things, which have nothing to do with the kitchen. This is why it matters"[26].

In looking so closely at an object which can be read as epitomizing a traditional understanding of a "woman's world", Sherry Turkle's writings seem to reach the core motivation behind my research to "why it matters". It contains themes that are timeless: life and death, youth and age, memory and loss, the simple and the sublime. Miller, too, reminds us that objects like recipe books tend to be mundane, hidden in plain sight, offering us insight into people's feelings, frustrations, aspirations, tragedies and delights[27]. Furthermore, it matters because the practice of cooking and writing food ripples out into all aspects of a women's life. It connects her to her body through her senses and allows for space to express herself freely – positive sensations which do indeed permeate into her cooking. A woman can connect to her family through a labour of love, one which nourishes her creative spirit as well as her family's stomachs.

From the private writings of my mother to the public figure of Lawson, cooking and writing food can be personally therapeutic—illuminating female imagination and internal feminine desires—offering a script for the self, for womanhood and motherhood grounded in a network of lineage and legacy. In this way Lawson's early cookbooks and television show invoke a reassuring version of domesticity and motherhood through her personal narrative, in the same way my mother and her personal cookbook has done for me. Her philosophy echoes that of 20th century psychologist Donald Winnicott's theory[28] of the *Good Enough Mother* as it removes the mythic and dual nature of womanhood—as either inherently bad or good—but simply as grounded, playful, whole, and importantly; *enough*, as is. With this in mind, could the nostalgic longing we see simply be the universal stories of "wanting to be mothered, fear and loss and attempts to retrieve kitchen pleasures"[29] being told?

Such timeless and universal themes in recipe books speak to the collective, and my account becomes one which speaks to "daughters' desires [to] mediate stories of their mothers,

[25]Lawson, 2000: xiii
[26]op cit.
[27]Miller, 2008: 1,2
[28]Winnicott, 1971: 149-160
[29]Duruz: 66

supposedly of the past, resonate with present and future meanings, too"[30]. In the very act of bringing awareness to a mundane *thing,* which I see as an extension of my own mother, I am offered clues to her possible identity. It reminds me that she baked with us, that she enjoyed the simple pleasures in life, that she cooked with feeling and with love, and was by no means less than, a *Good Enough* mother. This has been therapeutic for me, as Lawson's influence has been for many millions of women.

Lawson brings us back to cooking and writing food as a simple pleasure. In doing so, she highlights the humble attributes of domestic practice which, in turn, elevates the sacredness of writing and cooking food, and as such the recipe book[31]. The very personal journey through food is universalised by Nigella Lawson. She rehumanises the domestic space and attains a positive female presence in the kitchen by creating sacredness from the small things and the daily acts of life. She has revived the historical roots of why women love to cook and write food.

I feel that I—as a woman writing this thesis—am an example of this. As modern women, we can write recipes and we can write theses. There is value in the intimate writings for the self, for the family and for a female community. There is value in honouring tradition and connecting to the pleasure it elicits and therapy it offers, and in doing so, the personal desires it meets. Just as we as women have found immense pleasure in defining ourselves outside of this space, we must remember, too, that we are always welcome to come home to our humble roots, and how "simple pleasures should not be underestimated"[32].

If I can end with just one sentiment to the importance of keeping a familial recipe book I hope it is this; the journeying back into childhood through your mothers recipe book—or at least your favourite meals from her—offers a connection to your past and to the essence of love and nurture available to you in the present. And with time, you will be able to offer your children the same—a roadmap back to themselves too. This sentiment is why I believe there is a resurgence in the practice and why it will forever be associated with identity and womanhood because it exists beyond the politics of femininity and is linked to an essential part of being human.

[30]op.cit
[31]If your female lineage has lost touch the tradition of keeping and writing a homely recipe book, Nigella offers a model for what it is to be a woman in the home, one which is affirming, positive and true to the historic roots.
[32]Lawson: IX

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

ARCHIVE MATERIAL

Carew, S. ca 1980-. *Sandra Carew's recipe book*. (Unpublished).

Leipoldt Recipe Book Collection. MSB837. Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

Leipoldt Recipe Book Collection. MSB837:1(4). *M Cunningham MacIver 11.12.1896 recipe book.* Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

Louis Leipoldt Collection. MSB837:1(1). *17th Century MS Receipts.* Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

Louis Leipoldt Collection. MSB837:3(3). *Jane Gardner. Her Booke. 1650.* Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

Manuscript Collection. MSB777:1(4). *J Eveleigh February 5th* 1879. Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

Manuscript Collection. AA Fullalove Collection. MSC56:3(1). *Mrs JL Hofmeyer 1884.* Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

Manuscript Collection. AA Fullalove Collection. MSC56. Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

Elizabeth Sharp Collection. MSA57:1(1). *Elizabeth Sharp's recipe book.* Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

Manuscript Collection. MSB777. *Recipe Books & Recipes Collection*. Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

Manuscript Collection. MSB777:1(1). *Mary Sanderson May 6th 1770.* Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

Louis Leipoldt Collection. MSB837:2(1). Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

Louis Leipoldt Collection. MSB837:2(2). *Recipe Book 1.* Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

Leipoldt Recipe Collection. MSB837:2(5). *Recipe Book early 1800's* Special Collections Unit, National Library of South Africa. (Unpublished).

UNPUBLISHED THESES

Jappie, S. 2011. From Madrasah to Museum: A biography of the Islamic Manuscripts of Cape Town. Masters thesis. University of Cape Town. (Unpublished).

Davids, A. 1992. The Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims 1815-1915: A Socio-Linguistic Study. Masters thesis. University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. (Unpublished).

Van Embden, G. 2000. Keeper of the home: performing the family album. Masters Thesis. University of Cape Town (Unpublished).

SECONDARY SOURCES:

BOOKS

Abrahams C. 1995. *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay: Food from Africa.* Cape Town: Metz Publishers.

Andrews, M. 2003. Nigella Bites and the Naked Chef: The Sexual and the Sensual in Television Cookery Programmes. In *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Context and Tradition.* Floyd, J. & Foster, L. Ed. London: Ashgate Publishing: 187-204.

Appadurai, A. 1986. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barber, E. *Silver Jubilee Super Market Super Market Cook Book* (New York, 1940, 1946, 1955), xv.

Beeton, I. 1861. Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management. London: S.O. Beeton publishers.

Beeton, S. 1852-1862. Englishwomen's Domestic Magazine. London: S.O Beeton publishers.

Belenky, M., Clinchy, B., Goldberger, N. & Tarule, J. 1986. *Women's ways of knowing: The development of self, voice, and mind*. New York: Basic books.

Bell, D. & Valentine, G. 1997. *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat.* London: Routledge.

Berk, S.F. 2012. *The gender factory: The apportionment of work in American households*. Springer Science & Business Media.

Bornstein, G. 2001. *Material Modernism: the politics of the page*. United Kingdom: University Press, Cambridge

Bracken, P. 1960. *The I Hate to Cook Book*. Greenwich: Fawcett Crest publishers.

Broomfield, A. 2007. *Food and Cooking in Victorian England.* Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Brothwell, D & Brothwell, P. 1998. *Food in Antiquity: A Survey of the Diet of Early Peoples.* Maryland: John Hopkins University Press.

Brown, B. Ed. 2004. *Things*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brown, B. 1996. *Material Unconscious.* Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Bryson, B. 2010. *At Home: A Short History of Private Life*. New York: Doubleday.

Candlin, F. & Guins, R. Ed. 2009. *The Object Reader*. New York: Routledge.

Cassell. 1890. *Cassell's Book of the Household. A Work of Reference on Domestic Economy.* London: Cassell & Co.

Code, L. 1991. *What can she know? Feminist Theory and the Construction of Knowledge.* New York: Cornell University Press.

Cohen, D. 2006. *Household gods: the British and their possessions*. New Haven Connecticut: Yale University Press.

Cohen, L. 1997. *Glass, Paper, Beans: Revelations on the Nature and Value of Ordinary Things.* United States: Doubleday/Currency Publishers.

Conner, M. & Armitage, C. 2002. *The Social Psychology of Food*. Open University Press: New York.

Connerton, p. 1989. *How societies remember.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cotter, C. 1997. Claiming a Piece of the Pie: How the Language of Recipes Defines Community. In *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*, ed. by Anne L. Bower. Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press. 51-72.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. & Halton, E. 1981. *The meaning of things: Domestic symbols and the self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Wolfe, E. 1913. *The House in Good Taste*. New York: Dover Publications.

DiMeo, M. & Pennell, S. Ed. 2013. *Reading and writing recipe books, 1550-1800*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Doyle, A.C. Sir. 1899. Chapter XI: 'Regarding Mrs Beeton' in *A Duet, with an occasional chorus.* London: D. Appleton.

Dronke, P. 1984. *Women writers of the Middle Ages*. Cambridge University Press.

Eckerle, J. 2016. Prefacing Texts, Authorizing Authors, and Constructing Selves: The Preface as Autobiographical Space. In *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England*. Dowd, M.M. & Eckerle, J.A. Ed. London: Routledge. 109-126.

Edensor, T. 2002. *National identity, popular culture and everyday life*. Oxford: Bloomsbury Publishing. 103-138.

Ezell, M.J. 2016. Domestic papers: manuscript culture and early modern women's life writing. In *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England*. Dowd, M.M. & Eckerle, J.A. Ed. London: Routledge. 33-48

Fisher, M. 1983. The Anatomy of a Recipe. *With Bold Knife and Fork*. New York: Paragon.

Floyd, J. & Foster, L. Ed. 2003. *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Contexts, Traditions*. London: Ashgate Publishing.

Framer, F. 1896*. Fannie Farmer's Cookbook*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing.

Friedan, B. 1963. *The Feminine Mystique.* United States: W. W. Norton and Co.

Gabaccia, D. 1998. *We are what we eat: Ethnic food and the making of America's*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

General Mills. 1950. *Betty Crocker's Picture Cookbook.* New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.

Giard, L. 1998. *Doing-Cooking: The Practice of Every- day Life*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Graeber, D. 2001. *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dream*. New York: Palgrave.

Green, M. 2008. *Making women's medicine masculine: the rise of male authority in pre-modern gynecology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hendrick, H. 1997. *Children, childhood and English society, 1880-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hesser, A. 2003. 'The Torch is Passed, Handle First'. In *The Best Food Writing*. Hughes, H. Ed. New York: Marlowe.

Hirsch, M., 1989. *The Mother/Daughter Plot: Narrative, Psychoanalysis, Feminism*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Hirsch, M. 1997. *Family frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Hirsch, M. 2012. *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hu Sihui, P., Buell, E. & Anderson, N. 2000. *A Soup for the Qan; Chinese Dietary Medicine of the Mongol Era*. London: Kegan Paul International.

Humble, N. 2005. *Culinary Pleasures: Cook Books and the Transformation of British Food*. London: Faber & Faber

Ivins, W.M. 1969. *Prints and visual communication*. Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Johns, A. 1998. *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the making*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kernan, S.P. 2016. *"For al them that delight in Cookery": The Production and Use of Cookery Books in England, 1300–1600.* n.p

Kijac, M. 2003. *The South American Table: The Flavor and Soul of Authentic home cooking*. Boston: Harvard Common Press.

Kitchiner, W. 1817. *The Cook's Oracle: Containing Receipts for Plain Cookery on the Most Economical Plan for Private Families: Also, the Art of Composing the Most Simple and Most Highly Finished Broths, Gravies, Soups, Sauces, Store Sauces, and Flavouring Essences.* London: Creative Media Partners.

Laroche, R. 2016. *Medical Authority and Englishwomen's Herbal Texts, 1550–1650*. London: Routledge.

Lawson, N. 1998. *How to Eat: The Pleasures and Principles of Good Food.* Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Lawson, N. 2000. *How to be a Domestic Goddess: Baking and the Art of Comfort Food.* London: Chatto & Windus.

Leipoldt, L.C. 1976. *Leipoldt's Cape Cookery*. Cape Town: W.J. Flesch.

Levenstein, H. 1993. *Paradox of Plenty: a Social History of Eating in Modern America*. California: University of California

Martschukat & Simon. 2017. *Food, Power and Agency.* London: Bloomsbury

Mason, J.E. 2003. *Social death and resurrection: Slavery and Emancipation in South Africa*. Virginia: University of Virginia Press.

Mauss, M. 1925 [1954]. *The Gift.* London: Routledge

Miles, R. 2007. *Who Cooked the Last Supper? The Women's History of the World*. New York: Crown.

Miller, D. 2008. *The comfort of things*. Cambridge: Polity.

Müller, A. 2016. *Fashioning childhood in the eighteenth century: age and identity*. London: Routledge.

N.a. 1934. The home of today: Its Choice Planning Equipment and Organisation Daily Express. London: Daily Express.

Neumann, E. 1955. *The Great Mother: An analysis of the Archetype*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Pennell, S. 2013. *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600-1850*. London: Bloomsbury.

Reinders, S. 2018. Early Modern Women's Writing: Domesticity, Privacy, and the Public Sphere in England and the Dutch Republic, Women's Writing. New York: Springer

Rocoeur. P. 1992. *Oneself as Another*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rozin, E. 1983. *Ethnic cuisine: the flavor-principle cook-book.* Florida: Greene Press.

Ruskin, J. 1864. Sesame and Lilies: Of Queen's Gardens. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

Schultz, L.M., Gold, D., Sutherland, C.M., Nitecki, A., Sharer, W.B., Stockton, R.R., Wider, K., Rohan, B.E., Villanueva, V., Okawa, G.Y. and Eubanks, W.R. 2008. *Beyond the archives: Research as a lived process*. Illinois: SIU Press.

Sennett, R. 1977. *The Fall of Public Man*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

Shanahan, M. 2015. *Manuscript Recipe Books as Archaeological Objects: Text and Food in the Early Modern World.* Maryland: Lexington Books.

Shapiro, L. 2008. *Perfection Salad: Women and Cooking at the turn of the century.* California: University of California Press*.* 217.

Siltanen, J. & Stanworth, M. 1984. *Women and the public sphere: a critique of sociology and politics*. London: Hutchinson Education.

Smith, E. 1727. *The Compleat Housewife,* or*, Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion*. London: J & J Pemberton.

Stobart, J., 2013. *Sugar and Spice: Grocers and Groceries in Provincial England, 1650-1830*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stout, R. 1960. *It's a Woman's world.* New York: Doubleday.

Sutton, D. 2001. *Remembrance of Repast: an anthology of food and memory.* Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Theophano, J. 2003. *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives Through the Cookbooks They Wrote*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Timothy, D.J., 2015. Personal heritage, intergenerational food and nostalgia. In *Heritage Cuisines* (pp. 77-88). London: Routledge.

Titley, N. 2004. *The Ni'matnama Manuscript of the Sultans of Mandu: The Sultan's Book of Delights*. London: Routledge.

Turkle, S. Ed. 2007. *Evocative objects: Things we think with*. Cambridge: MIT press.

Tye, D. 2010. *Baking as Biography: A Life Story in Recipes.* Canada: McGill-Queen University Press.

Whaley, L., 2011. *Women and the practice of medical care in early modern Europe, 1400-1800*. New York: Springer.

Wiesner-Hanks, M.E., 2019. *Women and gender in early modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Willan, A. & Cherniavsky, M. 2012. *The Cookbook Library: Four Centuries of the Cooks, Writers, and Recipes That Made the Modern Cookbook*. California: University of California Press.

Winnicott, D.W. 1971. *Playing and Reality*. Sussex: Tavistock Publications Ltd.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

Anthias, F. 2008. Thinking through the lens of Translocational Positionality: an intersectionality frame for understanding identity and belonging. *Translocations: Migration and social change.* 4(1):5-20.

Appelbaum, P. 2003. Rhetoric and Epistemology in Early Recipe Collections. *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*. 3(2):1-35.

Baderoon, G. 2002. Everybody's Mother Was a Good Cook: Meanings of Food in Muslim Cooking in *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity*. 51:4-15.

Baderoon, G. 2005. Ambiguous Visibility: Islam and the Making of a South African Landscape. *The Arab World Geographer*. 8.1-2:90-103.

Baderoon, G. 2007. 'Catch with the eye': Stories of Muslim food in Cape Town. In *Imaging the City: Memories and Cultures in Cape Town*. Field, S., Meyer, R. & Swanson, F. Ed. Cape Town: HSRC Press. 115-132.

Baderoon, G. 2009. The African Oceans—Tracing the Sea as Memory of Slavery. *South African Literature and Culture in Research in African Literatures*. 40(4): 89-107.

Beetham, M. 2008. Good Taste and Sweet Ordering: Dining with Mrs Beeton. *Victorian Literature and Culture.* 36:391-406.

Bhabha, H.K. and Rutherford, J. 2006. Third Space. *Multitudes*. (3):95-107.

Bhabha, H. K. 1985. Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817. *Critical Inquiry* 12:144–165.

Bickham, T. 2008. Eating the Empire: Intersections of Food, Cookery and Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain in *Past & Present.* 198:71-109.

Bildtgard, T. 2008. Trust in Food during Modern and Pre-modern times. *Social Science Information.* 47(1):99-128.

Broomfield, A. 2008. Rushing Dinner to the table: The "Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine" and Industrialization's Effects on Middle-Class Food and Cooking, 1852-1860. *Victorian Periodicals Review.* 41(2):101-123.

Brown, W. 2002. When Documents are Destroyed or Lost: Lay People and Archives in the Early Middle Ages. *Early Medieval Europe*. 11(4):337-366.

Caroll, R. 1999. The Middle English Recipe as a Text-type. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*. 100(1):27-42.

Cirina, L. 2017. Rewriting the recipe: trauma, memory and the modernist cookbook. Masters thesis. San Francisco University State University.

Coates, P. 2012. Was the South African Library an Athenaeum? *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa*. 66(4):11–23.

Cooper, A. 2006. Homes and households. *The Cambridge History of Science*. 3:224-37.

Cowan, R. 2018. The "Industrial Revolution" in the Home: Household Technology and Social Change in the 20th Century. *Technology and Culture.* 17(1):1-23.

Crowston, C. 2008. Women, gender, and guilds in early modern Europe: An overview of recent research. *International Review of Social History*. 53(16):19-44.

Davids, A. 1990. Words the Cape slaves made: A socio–historical–linguistic study. *South African Journal of Linguistics*. 8(1):1-24.

Davidson, A. 1983. FOOD: The Natural History of British Cookery Books in *The American Scholar.* 52(1):98-106.

Davin, A. 1978. Imperialism and motherhood. *History workshop*.9-65.

Davis, H., Nansen, B., Vetere, F., Robertson, T., Brereton, M., Durick, J. and Vaisutis, K. 2014. Homemade cookbooks: a recipe for sharing. *Proceedings of the 2014 conference on Designing interactive systems*. 25:73-82.

Diaz, M & Kirk, S. 2013. Theorizing Trans-Atlantic Women's writing: Imperial Crossings and the production of knowledge in Early Modern Women. *Early Modern Women*. 8:53-84.

Dietler, M. 2007. Culinary Encounters: Food, Identity and Colonialism. *The Archaeology of Food and Identity.* 34:218-242.

Duruz, J. 1999. Food as nostalgia: Eating the fifties and sixties. *Australian Historical Studies*. 29(113):231-250.

Duruz, J. 1999. Haunted Kitchens: Cooking and Remembering. *Gastronomica*. 4(1):57-68.

Duruz, J. 2005. Eating at the Boarders: Culinary Journeys. *Environment and Planning, Society and Space.* 43:51-69.

Eighmey, R.K. 2007. 'Find Betty Crocker: the secret life of America's first Lady of Food' by Susan Marks (Review). *Minnesota Historical Society Press*. 60(7):297.

Ferree, M. 1990. Beyond separate spheres: Feminism and family research. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. 52(4): 866-884.

Fleitz, E. 2010. Cooking codes: Cookbook discourses as women's rhetorical practices. *Present Tense*, 1(1):1-8.

Flinn, A. 2007. Community histories, community archives: some opportunities and challenges. *Journal of the Society of Archivists*. 28(2):151-176.

Geoffrion-Vinci, M., & Guarino, A. 2006. Hungry I's: Cookery and Self-Construction in Cristina Fernández Cubas's "Los altillos de Brumal". *Letras Femeninas.* 32(2):165-180.

Green, M. 1989. Women's medical practice and health care in Medieval Europe. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*. 14(2):434-473.

Gray, S., Leipoldt, L.C., & Bosman, H.C. 1980. The Criticism of C. Louis Leipoldt and Herman Charles Bosman. *English in Africa*. 1-44.

Harris, V. 2002. The archival sliver: power, memory, and archives in South Africa. *Archival Science* 2(1):63-86.

Harris, V. 2004. Concerned with the writings of others: Archival canons, discourses and voices. *Journal of the Society of Archivists*. 25(2):211-220.

Hirsch, M. & Spitzer, L. 2006. Testimonial Objects: Memory, Gender, and Transmission in *Poetics Today*. 27(2):354-383.

Honeyman, K. & Goodman, J. 1991. Women's work, gender conflict, and labour markets in Europe, 1500-1900. *Economic History Review*. 608-628.

Horner, J.R. 2000. Betty Crocker's Picture Cookbook: A gendered Ritual Response to Social Crises of the Postwar Era in *Journal of Communication Inquiry.* 24(3):332-345.

Iddison, P. 2007. Reviewed Work(s): The Short Times and Long Life of Mrs Beeton by Kathryn Hughes. *Gastronica*. 7(4):105-107.

Jackson, S. 1993. Women's studies: essential readings. *Journal of Literary Studies.* 28(1):51-68.

Kalnikaitė, V. and Whittaker, S. 2011. A saunter down memory lane: Digital reflection on personal mementos. *International Journal of Human-Computer Studies*. 69(5):298-310.

Ketelaar, E. 2002. Archival Temples, Archival Prisons: Modes of power and protection. *Archival Science*. 2(3-4):221-238.

Ketelaar, E., 2009. The genealogical gaze: family identities and family archives in the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries. *Libraries & the Cultural Record*. 44(1):9-28.

Labelle, J. 2004. A recipe for connectedness: Bridging production and consumption with slow food. *Food, Culture & Society*. *7*(2): 81-96.

Lehmann, G. 1999. Politics in the Kitchen. *Eighteenth-Century Life*. 23(2):71-83.

Leong, E. 2013. Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household in *Centaurus.* 55: 81-103.

Lieffers, C. 2012. "The Present is Eminently Scientific": The Science of Cookery in Nineteenth-Century Britain. *Journal of Social History.* 45(4):936-959.

Lindley, S.E. 2012. Before I forget: From personal memory to family history. *Human–Computer Interaction*. 27(1-2):13-36.

Mannar, A. 2007. Culinary Nostalgia: Authenticity, Nationalism and Diaspora. *MELUS.* 32(4):11-31.

Mars, V. 2013. Experiencing French cookery in nineteenth century London. *School of Advanced Study, University of London, Institute of Historical Research.*

Martin, J. 2015. Recipes, Love, and Forgetting: a Sparse Domestic Archive from Colonial Natal. *Social Dynamics.* 41(3):576-590.

Meah & Jackson. 2016. Re-imagining the kitchen as a site of memory. *Social & Cultural Geography.* 17(4):511-532.

Morris, M. 2018. A Recipe for Remembering. *A Journal of Place.* 14(1):17-28.

Neuhaus, J. 1999. The way to a man's heart: Gender roles, domestic ideology, and cookbooks in the 1950s. *Journal of Social History*. 529-555.

Nugent, P. 2010. Do Nations Have Stomachs? Food, Drink and Imagined Community. Africa in *Africa Spectrum.* 45(3):87-113.

Oppelt, R. 2012. C. Louis Leipoldt and the Role of the "Cape Malay". South African Cookery, Journal of Literary Studies. 28(1):51-68.

Ortazar-Young, A. 2003. Foodways: Roots, Routes and what they tell us. *Transformations: The Journal of Inclusive Scholarship and Pedagogy.* 23(2):27-31.

Pennell, S. 1998. 'Pots and Pans History': The material culture of the kitchen in early modern England. *Journal of Design History*. 11(3):201-216.

Pennell, S. 2009. Recipes and reception: tracking "New World" foodstuffs in early modern British culinary texts, c. 1650–1750. *Food and History*. 7(1):11-33.

Pennell, S. 2017. Mundane materiality, or, should small things still be forgotten? Material culture, micro-histories and the problem of scale. In *History and Material Culture*. 237-255

Raji, M.N., Karim, S.A., Ishak, F.A. 2017. Past and present practices of the Malay food heritage and culture in Malaysia. *Journal of Ethnic Foods.* 1(4):221-231.

Riordan 1, M. 2011. Printing, Selection and the Cataloguing of Oxford Archives, c. 1850–1950. *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 32(1):51-62.

Rozin, E. & Rozín, P. 1981. Some surprisingly unique characteristics of human food preferences. *Food in perspective*.

Salvio, P.M. 2012. Dishing It Out: Food Blogs and Post-Feminist Domesticity Author(s) in *Gastronomica*. 12(3): 31-39. Published by: University of California Press.

Sas, C. & Dix, A. 2006. Designing for collective remembering. In *CHI'06: CHI'06 extended abstracts on Human factors in computing systems*. 1-4.

Shanahan. M. 2015. 'Whipt with a twig rod': Irish manuscript recipe books as sources for the study of culinary material culture, c. 1660 to 1830 in Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. 115C:197-218.

Shapiro, L. 2004. "And here she is…you Betty Crocker!". *The American Scholar.* 73(2):87-99.

Silva, E. 2000. The Cook, the cooker and the gendering of the kitchen. *The Sociological review.* 612-628.

Sobal, J. 1999. *Social change and foodways.* Oregon state university: Symposium of *Cultural Aspects of food.*

Stevens, M.M., Abowd, G.D., Truong, K.N. & Vollmer, F. 2003. Getting into the Living Memory Box: Family archives & holistic design. *Personal and Ubiquitous Computing*. 7(3-4):210-216.

Stolberg, M., 2014. John Locke's "New Method of Making Common-Place-Books": Tradition, Innovation and Epistemic Effects. *Early science and medicine*. *19*(5):448-470.

Sutton, D. & Hernandez, M. 2007. Voices in the kitchen: Cooking tools as inalienable possessions. *Oral History London*. 35(2):67-76.

Taillie, L. 2008. Who's cooking? Trends in US home food preparation by gender, education, and race/ethnicity from 2003 to 2016 in *Nutrition Journal.* 17(41):1-9.

Wack, M. 2018. Recipe Collecting, Embodied Imagination and Transatlantic connections in an Irish Emigrants Cooking. *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies.* 41:100-123.

Yost, G. *The Compleat Housewife,* or*, Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion*: A biographical study. 419-435.

Zafar, R. 2013. Elegy and Remembrance in the Cookbooks of Alice B. Toklas and Edna Lewis. *Multi-Ethnic Literature of the United States.* 38(4):32-51.

Zlotnick, S. 1996. Domesticating Imperialism: Curry and Cookbooks in Victorian England in *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies.* 16(2/3):51-68.

Zussman, R. Picturing the self: my mother's family photo albums. *Contexts*. 5(4):28.

ELECTRONIC SOURCES:

Creole Language. 2019. Available: https://www.quora.com/Whats-the-difference-between-Creoles-and-mixed-hybrid-languages. [2019, June 17].

Culver, C. 2013. My Kitchen, Myself: Constructing the Feminine Identity in Contemporary Cookbooks. *Journal of Media and Culture.* Available: http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/view/641. [2019, October 26].

Goldstein, D. 2019. A Guide to Ladies: Hannah Woolley's missing book emerges from the archives [O]. Available at: *https://shakespeareandbeyond.folger.edu/2019/03/29/a-guide-to-ladies-hannah-woolley-missing-book/* [2020, September 11].

Hunt,R. & Phillipov, M. 2014. *Nanna Style: the counter-cultural politics of retro femininities*. Journal of media and culture [O]. Available: http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/view/901. [2019, October 26].

Premack, R. 2016. *Why are so many millennial men cooking?* [O]. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2016/07/19/why-so-many-millennial-men-are-cooking/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.1fd9cf076b81. Accessed on: 7/01/2019.

Rodell, B. 2019. *Nigella Lawson Was Never Just a Domestic Goddess* [O]. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/19/dining/nigella-lawson.html. Accessed on: 10/11/2019